4:Grajdanzev--3-4 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 132, 175

"Its climate and vegetation are tropical, a fact which was of special importance to Japan, which is situated in the temperate zone and which, before the World War, had no possessions in the tropics, except Taiwan. After the War she received a mandate over the German Pacific islands lying north of the equator, but their total area is only 2,149 sq. km. (830 sq. miles). Thus before the recent occupation of Kwangtung and Hainan Island, Taiwan was the only important Japanese possession in the tropics. As we see later, [4] this had an important bearing on Japanese economic policy there.".

116, 175, 563

"Special circumstances contributed to the transformation of Taiwan into a Chinese island. In 1644 China was invaded by the Manchus. The Ming Dynasty was overthrown in the north, but the struggle continued for many years in the south and the population suffered all the horrors of the war. As a consequence more than 100,000 Chinese, according to some reports, fled to Taiwan, which by that time was well known to the inhabitants of Fukien and Canton as the base of operations by Japanese and Chinese pirates alike. This mass emigration to Taiwan changed the character of the island. The newcomers were resolute people, ready to fight aborigines and Manchus, and in their wake thousands of other Chinese followed annually from the densely populated southern provinces.

During the 16th and 17th centuries European Powers laid the foundations of their present Asiatic colonial possessions. Java became a Dutch colony, the Philippine Islands Spanish, and the Portuguese succeded [sic]in acquiring a base at Macao. Rivalry was keen and, after unsuccessful attempts to drive the Portuguese out of Macao, the Dutch established a base on the southwestern shore of Taiwan in 1624, near the present town of Tainan. They began to extend their control over the adjacent territory, to convert the aborigines to Protestantism, to tax the people, to encourage the planting of sugar cane and to develop the production of camphor. Dutch mastery over the island was contested by the Spaniards who in 1626 built Fort San Salvador at Keelung, in the north of the island, and three years later Fort San Domingo at Tamsui, in the northwest. At the same time Spanish missionaries also started preaching the Gospel, trying to convert the

natives to Catholicism. But the Dutch drove out the Spanish soldiers (1) by military force

1. The following correspondence between the Dutch and Spanish commanders is of interest, because it aptly illustrates the spirit of the time:
To Gonsolo Portilio,
Governor of the Spanish fortress in the island of Kelung.
Sir.

I have the honor to communicate to you that I have received the command of a considerable naval and military force with the view of making me master by civil means or otherwise of the fortress Santissima Trinidad in the isle of Kelung of which your Excellency is the Governor. [12]

In accordance with the usage of Christian nations to make known their intentions before commencing hostilities, I now summon your Excellency to surrender. If your Excellency is disposed to lend an ear to the terms of capitulation which we offer and to make delivery to me of the fortress of Santissima Trinidad and other citadels, your Excellency and your troops will be treated in good faith according to the usages and customs of war, but if your Excellency feigns to be deaf to this command there will be no other remedy than recourse to arms. I hope that your Excellency will give

careful consideration to the contents of this letter and avoid the useless effusion of blood, and I trust that without delay in a few words you will make known to me your intentions.

May God protect your Excellency many years.
The friend of your Excellency
Paulus Tradenius.

Fort Zelandia, August 26th, 1641.
To the Governor of Taiwan.
Sir,

I have duly received your communication of August 26th, and in response I have the honor to point out that as becomes a good Christian who respects the oath he has made before his king, I cannot and I will not surrender the forts demanded by your Excellency, as I and my garrison have determined to defend them. I am accustomed to find myself before great armies, and I have engaged in numerous battles in Flanders as well as other countries, and so I beg of you not to take the trouble of writing me further letters of like tenor. May each one defend himself as best he can. We are Spanish Christians and God in whom we trust is our protector.

May the Lord have mercy upon you.
Written in our principal fortress
San Salvador the 6th of September 1641.
(Signed) Gonsalo Portilis.

[12] and to all appearances became the sole masters of Taiwan. Had they retained the island, it might have become a base for further penetration into China and Japan. As has been mentioned, China was at that time in a turbulent state. As the conquering Manchus advanced southwards, many more Chinese fled to Taiwan. In the southwest resistance to the invading forces was carried on first by Cheng Chi-lung. Originally a tailor, he later migrated to Japan, where he married a Japanese girl. He then became a famous pirate and finally, as was often the case in China, a high official. His son Cheng Ch'eng-kung, better known as Koxinga, continued the struggle, but, being hard pressed by Manchu forces, decided to give up Fukien. On April 30, 1661, Koxinga, with a large fleet and an army of 25,000, appeared at Zeelandia, chief Dutch port in Taiwan, where he was supported by the discontented Chinese population. Only nine years before, there had been a serious uprising against the Dutch as a result of oppressive taxes and heavy export duties, and though the rebel-[13]lion had been crushed, the resentment remained. Koxinga besieged the fortress, which was garrisoned by 2,200 Dutch soldiers and a few settlers, and after a long siege the Dutch surrendered on February 1,1662, bringing to an end the attempt to secure a European base for an advance to the north. Within a few years all vestiges of Dutch influence had disappeared, the forts fell to ruins and the aboriginal converts returned to their old practices.

The reasons for the failure of both the Dutch and Spaniards are not far to seek. The purpose of colonial possessions was trade, whilst preaching the Gospel was only an

auxiliary method of subjugation and control. The needs of the local inhabitants were neglected—they were looked upon only as a source of income. The smallness of military forces stationed in the colonies and the great distance from bases prevented speedy reinforcement of the garrison, and the Dutch were compelled to give up in the face of the strong native force.

In 1683 the island fell into the hands of Manchu rulers, and for 212 years it was a part of the Manchu Empire. But little attention was paid by the rulers to the island, for it was made only a fu—a prefecture—of Fukien province, the governors of which did not trouble themselves with visits to a distant island.

The population was unruly and turbulent. The Chinese inhabitants consisted of two group which did not easily mingle with one another. The earlier settlers were the Hakkas from Kwangtung province, the remnants of the native tribes which were sinified to some degree as they came under Chinese domination. Their name itself means 'stranger', and in China they were the pariahs of society. In the new possession they were able to secure better conditions, and it has been estimated that one third of the Hakkas in Kwangtung province emigrated to Taiwan. (2). Another group was made up of emigrants from the opposite

2. Davidson, J., The Island of Formosa, 1903, p. 8.

shore of Fukien province, called Puntis. Both groups of the Chinese population brought

with them the customs, beliefs, and superstitions which they had [14] known on the continent and thus reproduced on the island the life they had led in China. The Chinese in South China, for example, were organised into clans, and the population of Taiwan was likewise thus divided.

From the occupation of the island by Koxinga to the coming of the Japanese some 220 years later the Chinese were constantly at war with the natives who had once occupied the whole island, including the fertile plains of the west, and who were now forced to give up their lands. Some of the aborigines were absorbed by the Chinese, some annihilated; while the most indomitable were driven step by step into the mountainous regions. As a result of this cruel treatment, they developed a hatred for the Chinese and tried to kill them at every opportunity, raiding their villages or hunting the inhabitants down when they dared to penetrate the dense forests in search of camphor trees. The Chinese organized some kind of semi-volunteer guards, whose duty it was to keep the 'savages' within a pale. But the 'savages', composed of many tribes, were fighting not only against the Chinese, but also among themselves and as a result of these unfavorable conditions, their numbers either remained stationary or decreased, while the Chinese population on the plains, living if not a life of opulence, yet under comparatively easy conditions, was increasing by natural growth as well as by immigration from China. At the end of the period of Chinese sovereignty, the aborigines, who had once made up the whole population of the island, formed only about three to four per cent of the total, so that the island acquired an entirely Chinese character."

"The Chinese, however, were not a homogeneous group with identical interests. The difference between the Hakkas and the Fukienese has already been mentioned [see category 116, p. 13--Analyst] and this difference often found expression in bloody conflicts. Within each of these two groups clans were fighting one another, often for seemingly trivial reasons but most commonly for land and for influence in local affairs. There was also cleavage between the old settlers who possessed the land and the newcomers who had been compelled to rent it and borrow money at exorbitant [15] rates. Finally, there were frequent rebellions against the local officials of the Manchu government who ruled the island with the support of 10,000 to 15,000 poorly trained and badly paid soldiers.

At the time of conquest the Manchu rulers did not resemble the Chinese either in appearance or in language. The Manchus were a warlike Tungus tribe inhabiting North Manchuria and now almost completely assimilated by the Chinese. At least during the first century after the invasion they did not speak the Chinese language, far less the Fukienese dialect. The Hakkas hardly understood the Puntis, and both, as a rule, did not understand the numerous aboriginal dialects. The officials communicated with the population only through interpreters who often abused their position, a bribe being sufficient to change the interpretation of a case before the mandarin. These mandarins and their entourage, coming from distant Peking, looked upon Taiwan as a source of speedy enrichment, and at times their exactions and misrule became so oppressive that revolts followed. A Chinese saying of those days concerning Taiwan sums up the situation:

116, 175, 563

'Every three years a disorder, and every five years a rebellion.' (1) Indeed the history

1. Quoted by De Bunsen, 'Formosa,' Geographical Journal, 1928, p. 268.

of Taiwan is represented by some writers as a succession of rebellions."

4:Grajdanzev--15-16 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans'
116, 162, 175, 439

"However, it would be a mistake to overemphasize these uprisings. Life was not easy under the conditions described above, but it was better than in Fukien and a definite development was taking place. Before 1600 hardly a thousand Chinese lived on the island; in the middle of the 18th century there were, according to Luchow, two and a half million. This may be an exaggeration, but it is a fact that at the end of the 19th century there were three million Chinese in Taiwan, engaged mainly in the cultivation of rice and sugar. About four hundred vessels were then plying between Taiwan and the mainland exchanging the produce of the island for that of China and in 1893, for example, 21 million lbs. of tea, 5.3 million lbs. of camphor and 98 million lbs. of sugar were ex-[16]ported. Taiwan rice played an important part in the economy of Fukien, as did oilcake, which was used as fertilizer. Taiwan sugar made up a great part of the sugar consumed in North China, and her camphor was a not unimportant item in China's foreign trade. This brief inventory is very important because it shows that the present-day character of Taiwan is not the creation of its present rulers, but is the result of a long historical process, though the progress under Chinese administration was slow in comparison with later developments."

"As has been mentioned above, the development of the island was due exclusively to the energy of the local population, for the Peking government neglected this far-away district of Fukien province. However, several events demonstrated to the Chinese government the dangers of this neglect.

The second half of the 19th century witnessed a revival of the struggle for colonies among the Powers. This was the period of the division of Africa, but Asia was not overlooked. In 1842 the British acquired Hongkong, twelve years later Commodore Perry 'opened' Japan to foreign commerce, about the same time the Russians again appeared on the north bank of the Amur, and in 1859 France got a foothold in Cochin China. It was an open secret that the Powers were again alive to the strategic importance of Taiwan. To find excuses for interference was not very difficult. The unruly state of the aborigines and the Chinese distrust of foreigners caused many critical situations and even tragedies for foreign shipping; shipwrecked sailors being maltreated and sometimes killed (1).

1. The fault was not always on the side of Taiwan's inhabitants. For example, in 1869 marines from the Prussian ship 'Elbe' were landed on the Taiwanese coast, though they had no need nor in fact any right to do so. The aborigines fired on them and compelled them to return to the ship, whereupon the commander landed a strong party of marines, destroyed the nearest village and killed those who did not flee.

116, 175

The foreign nations retaliated with bombardments of the coast and temporary occupation of certain points on the island. In 1874 Japanese forces spent several months on the island and evacuated it only after the friendly intervention of other [17] Powers. This acquaintance of the army with the island was put to good use by the Japanese twenty years later."

"Simultaneously with these military clashes commercial penetration of Taiwan was going on. By the treaty of Tientsin with Great Britain, Taiwan, the former capital of the island (now Tainan), was opened to foreign commerce. In 1860, the year of the ratification of the Tientsin treaty with France, Tamsui was also opened to trade (1). The pioneers

1. Regarding the causes of this opening it is stated in Article VI of the treaty: 'Experience having demonstrated that the opening of new ports for commerce is one of the necessities of the age, it has been agreed that the ports...'

were Jardine Matheson and Company and Dent and Company, two well-known and influential British firms in Hongkong, which in 1858 established trade connections with Taiwan and in 1860 opened offices there. The chief article of export from Taiwan in which they were interested was camphor, while in imports their interests were limited to opium (2). Opium was known in Taiwan before that date, but the years 1860-95 saw

2. Opium was 'practically the only import in which foreigners were interested' wrote Davidson, the American consul in Taiwan for some years.

the greatest spread of this evil. To support the interests of the business firms, British and later American and other consulates were opened in Taiwan. In 1863 the Imperial

116, 175, 439

Chinese Maritime Customs—actually a foreign-controlled agency in China to service the debts of the Chinese government—began to function at Tamsui. It is interesting to note that at first the customs office was opened on board the opium-receiving hulk Pathfinder, property of Jardine Matheson and Company; at about the same time the British consul opened his offices at Takao on board the opium-receiving hulk Ternate belonging to Messrs Dent and Company. This illustrates the close connection which at that time existed between the Customs, British officials, merchants, and the opium trade. These merchants on several occasions used their own force to compel the Chinese to accept their demands. In 1868 after one such 'small local war' (3) in which British marines had

3. The pretexts for such 'wars' were not difficult to find. Two gentlemen, for example, forced their way into Chinese property to which they had some claim, breaking down the door which was fastened by nails, but were met by 'a mob of [18] some 500 coolies.' 'The two gentlemen attempted immediate flight, but before they had gained many steps they were assailed in the most violent manner with guns, knives, spears and stones by the ferocious ruffians. Mr. Bird was struck down by a stone and beaten and stabbed with spears and muskets,' etc., etc. (Davidson, op. cit., p. 200). Miraculously, both gentlemen remained alive and in command of their faculties. Gunboats appeared on the scene to lend very effective support to their claims.

taken part, although there [18] was not a shadow of hostilities between China and Great Britain at that time, the British compelled the Chinese officials to abolish the camphor monopoly, to recognize the right of foreigners to travel and buy freely, the right of the missionaries to reside and work in the island, etc."

4:Grajdanzev--18 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 175, 177.65 China
636.65

"In 1884 began the Sino-French war, the purpose of which was to compel the Chinese government to agree to the French version of Tonkin's boundary. Activities spread to Taiwan, which was blockaded by the French navy. The war was not very glorious for French arms, but it brought home to the Chinese government the need for improvements in Taiwan. The island was raised to the rank of a province in 1887, and the energetic Liu Ming-chuan, commander of the Chinese forces during the French blockade, became the first governor. He worked out a plan of substantial improvements and during his short rule the construction of the first railway on the island was begun, a telegraph network was constructed and a cable connecting with Amoy laid; harbors were also improved and fortifications built. But all this was done without any attempt to improve the condition of the masses, to educate them, or to give them some voice in the government. The cost of the reforms Liu Ming-chuan wanted to place upon the local population through the introduction of 'likin' (1) and through a revision of the land tax. This caused disturbances

1. A tax on goods moved across administrative boundaries.

among the population. Liu Ming-chuan was removed from office and the Chinese administration of the island returned to the original state of inaction; but the menace was already at hand."

4:Grajdanzev--18-20 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-4
116, 175, 668

"In 1894 the war between Japan and China began. China suffered defeat. and by the Treaty of Shimonoseki of April 18, 1895, Liaotung peninsula and Taiwan were ceded to Japan. Though the Pescadores Islands had been occupied by Japanese [19] marines, there were no Japanese troops on the island of Taiwan at the time the treaty was signed, and when the news reached Taiwan, the administration and the population decided not to submit to the cession. It is quite possible that Peking encouraged local authorities to do this and there were rumors that in order to avoid the transfer of the island to the Japanese, the government was ready to give it to the British or to the French. In fact, the British are said to have declined the offer, (1) and under the circumstances, the French too

1. In view of the interest which the British had in the island (as was shown above) the natural question arises as to why they declined this offer. The answer is given in the work of Mr. W.A. Pickering, an important official in British service, of whom none other than Sir Robert Hart said in 1878 that 'no single European had ever possessed such opportunities of learning the Chinese character in all its phases,' and who from 1877 to 1888 'was virtually the ruler of some hundreds of thousands of Chinese in the Straits Settlements and in native States' (See his Pioneering in Formosa, London, 1898, p. 257). Mr. Pickering writes: 'Well, Japan is an Asiatic nation in spite of her modern civilization and her Western

> ideas. Against any European power Japan can do absolutely nothing, in fact there is no European nation that has any reason to fear anything from any Asiatic race, however civilized. Japan, however, would be splendid as an ally; and, per contra, she would be just as dangerous in alliance with any other European power. That she would be a splendid ally to us I have not the least doubt.' And further (p.258, op.cit.): 'And Formosa? Well we have had lots of chances to take Formosa. Certainly, we can't allow Russia or France to take it, and it could not be in better hands than those of Japan or in worse than those of China.' The gift of Taiwan to Japan was to pave the ground for a coming alliance. The British were sure of Japan's inability to rule there without British assistance and capital. The Pickerings who thought they knew the Chinese character so well badly misjudged the Japanese.

showed no special inclination to take it. Nevertheless the Chinese of Taiwan decided to act on their own. On May 23, 1895, the Taiwan republic (for which China's treaty was not binding) came into existence with the governor of the province Tang Ching-sung as its president.

But the republic of Taiwan lasted in the north less than three weeks. The president of the republic fled after the first defeat of his troops, and the army was left disorganized and leaderless. It is true that General Liu Yung-fu proclaimed himself president in the south, but at the approach of the Japanese he fled in the same manner as Tang Ching-sung.

116, 175, 668

As subsequent events clearly showed, it was not the absence of enthusiasm on the part of soldiers and of the people to fight for Taiwan that caused the collapse of the Republic. Describ-[20]ing the guerilla war which took place after the flight of the president, Yosaburo Takekoshi says: 'Whenever our troops were defeated, the inhabitants of the surrounding villages instantly became our enemies, every one, even the young women, arming themselves and joining the ranks with shouts of defiance. Our opponents were very stubborn and not at all afraid of death.' (2)Chinese mandarins showed their inability

2. Japanese Rule in Formosa, p. 88.

to rule the country in time of peace; they proved also their complete inability to organize its defenses in time of war. (3)In better hands Taiwan could have shown incomparably

3. The following rewards promised by the governor of Taiwan may serve as an illustration of his military knowledge: for the capture of a big man-of-war, 70,000 taels; for the capture of a small cruiser, 4,600 taels.

better resistance. The president fled on June 11, but Taiwan (in the south) was not taken until November 18, 1895, and four to six more years were necessary in order to subdue the guerilla warriors whom the Japanese contemptuously called 'brigands'. Japanese

116, 175, 668

losses in the pacification were not small. Takekoshi gives the following figures: died of disease in Taiwan, 4,642; sent to Japan for treatment, 21,748; remaining in hospitals in Taiwan, 5,246; killed in battle, 164; wounded, 515. This does not include losses suffered after November 1895 (4).

> 4. Engagements of the period of 1895-1901 were often on a quite large scale. In December 1895 General Yamaguchi, suppressing the 'insurrection of Hakkas armed only with long poles... shot five or six hundred of them and forced the rest to submit.' (Takekoshi, op. cit., p. 92.)

The strikingly small number of killed and wounded, as compared with those who died of disease or were treated for illness is possibly the result of the habit of the Japanese command in understating losses in war. Chinese losses up to December 1895 were estimated by Japanese at six to seven thousand killed in action."

4:Grajdanzev--20-21 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 175, 563, 177.65 Japan
636.65

"Thus Taiwan became the first Japanese colony. Many problems faced the new masters of the island, one being the aborigines and the territory occupied by them. About half of the island, sparsely populated by aboriginal tribes, was practically outside Chinese authority and the occupation of the western part by Japanese in 1895 did not bring them nearer to [21] the solution of the problem. It took decades of effort and even now is not finally solved. The Chinese part was easier to control, but several years were spent in the suppression of rebellions, and special measures were required to keep order among the population. Even the pacified population presented many problems. They were foreign in speech, in customs, outlook and allegiance, and no policy worked out in advance could be applied at once."

4:Grajdanzev--21 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 175, 177.65 Japan
636.65

"Finally, a not less important problem was how to make the island pay, for the new masters came to the island not so much in order to benefit the islanders as to benefit themselves. Owen Rutter, explaining the existence of good roads, railways, good streets and other amenities of life in Taiwan, says that 'Money has been poured into Formosa by the Japanese; to them it is like a ewe lamb'. (1) In the following pages however it will be

1. Geographical Journal, London, 1928, p. 286, quoted in the discussion of the report of E. H. Bunsen.

shown that Japan spent relatively very little in Taiwan and received very much from it; that most of what has been done in Taiwan has been done on money raised there.

The history of the island after Japanese occupation will be given along with a description of various phases of human activity in Taiwan."

4:Grajdanzev--170-171 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116; 175, 114, 204, 177.72 Japan
636.72

"Tadao Yanaihara, writing in 1929 when no Chinese newspaper was published, tried to find the cause of the difference between Taiwan and Korea (in the latter newspapers in Korean language are published). He thinks that the cause lies in the former independence of Korea and a resulting [171] Japanese deference to world public opinion, whereas Taiwan was a former Chinese colony and thus Japan did not have to make the same concessions to world opinion (1). We believe that this explanation is inadequate. The Japan-

1. Page 229. op. cit.

ese government had few scruples concerning world opinion for example in 1919 when it brutally suppressed the national movement of the same Korean people. The explanation is simpler. Korea was sold out peacefully by her rulers to Japan and at the time her people acquiesced in this sale. whereas the people of Taiwan did not recognize the cession of Taiwan to Japan. It is important to note that the act of cession took place not in Taiwan, but on the sea. The representative of the Peking government transferred Taiwan to the Japanese plenipotentiary on the open sea because Taiwan was in a state of turmoil. Abandoned by the government, betrayed by militarists, the islanders continued the unequal struggle for several years."

4:Grajdanzev--176-177 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans -1-2
116, 175, 208, 563, 668, 177.65 Japan
636.65

"Political Movements (1)

1. The information concerning these movements is taken chiefly from Yanaihara, op. cit., and from Sekai nenkan, 1939.

As was shown in the historical section of this book, the island was not actually acquired by the treaty of Shimonoseki, but was conquered by the Japanese. This conquest took seven years and the Japanese recognize that the island was pacified only about 1902. However, in 1907 the Peipu rebellion broke out, the immediate cause being an attempt on the part of the officials to use the paochia in the subjugation of the savages. In 1912 the Linchi rebellion broke out in connection with the felling of the bamboo forest by Mitsui interests, and in 1915 [177] there was a new rebellion at Hsilaian. All these rebellions were suppressed by the government. These and other spontaneous movements, the information concerning which was withheld by the government, are classified by the Japanese as rebellions of the old type, to distinguish them from newer movements guided by persons with modern education and ideas. The first of these movements was led by a Japanese, Taisuke Itagaki, who came to Taiwan in November 1914 and organized Dokakai, the Assimilation Society. The purpose of Itagaki was not a revolutionary one; he wanted to see the Chinese of the island assimilated by the Japanese. He realized however, that this assimilation could not take place unless the Chinese of the island

were given equal treatment and equal opportunities in education. But such ideas appeared too dangerous to the government-general and the movement was suppressed in February 1915. Another stimulus to the awakening of political consciousness in the Chinese was given by Lin Hsien-t'ang, a wealthy Chinese who petitioned the government to permit him to open a private middle school in Taichu for the Chinese. The idea was evidently so strange and radical to the Japanese that they consider this application an important stage in the political development of the island. In 1918 the Chinese from Taiwan who studied in Tokyo organized the Domeikai, an organization the primary purpose of which was to effect the abolition of some especially harsh laws in Taiwan. In 1919 this organization started a monthly publication Taiwan Youth, which a few years later was changed into a weekly. At that time the attempt to transfer its publication to Taiwan failed, but the organ became the spearhead of the educational movement and in the 'liberal' years of 1927-30 this publication succeeded in moving to Taiwan and turned into a daily newspaper, the fate of which has already been described."

6: Kirchhoff --29 [4] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 175

In the course of the centuries, Formosa had quietly received settlers from the neighboring coasts of South China for pirates or anyone else who had had a rift with the Chinese Government, the island offered a place of refuge similar to that offered by Iceland and Greenland to the old Norwegians; but besides that, the amazing fertility of the island must have proved attractive to the inhabitants of the scanty and rocky soil of Fukien. But even after 1564, when an Imperial fleet, occupied in pursuing a bold pirate, had occupied the Pescadores, for which a Chinese Governor was thereupon appointed, Formosa remained untouched by any fresh attempts on the part of the Chinese Government to extend its power.

6: Kirchhoff--29-30 U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 175

The 17th century brought the decisive turning point. After a Japanese attempt to colonize the Formosan coast (1620) had disappeared without a trace, the Dutch, who had become acquainted with the island on their journeys from Batavia to Japan, [30] established themselves on it. Their East Indian Company first took possession, in 1624, of the island in the sea where An-ping is now found, and there they built their fort of Zelandia. They soon established themselves in the southwest of Formosa also, and once again (1642) forced out the Spanish rival, who had set up the fort of San Salvador on the bay of Ki-lung in 1626. The Company now set up permanent establishments in the north of Formosa, at both Ki-lung and Tam-sui. The Dutch established satisfactory relations with the brown-skinned natives; every village chieftain within the area they controlled (this did not extend far inland, and never touched the east coast) was given, as a mark of the office he exercised in their name, a staff with a silver mounting on which the arms of the Company were engraved; thousands were won over to Christianity by the Dutch preachers, and in the village schools Dutch teachers taught the reading and writing of Dutch. But the Chinese settlers, on the other hand, were far from pleased by the demands of the "red-headed," as they called the Dutch, least of all by the poll tax laid on each of them from the seventh year on. At this very time thousands of refugees came over from South China (the figure of 25,000 is given for the period between 1624 and 1644); for the Manchus had broken through the Great Wall and had dethroned the Ming dynasty, an act that was followed by civil war lasting for decades.

6: Kirchhoff--30 U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 175

The Dutch commercial company in the meantime busied itself with a profitable smuggling trade from Formosa to China. Their badly paid officials took an active part in this, for their own personal gain, making a clear profit of 100%. Raw silk was shipped to Japan, and silken materials via Batavia to the Netherlands. The average money value of this secret trade with China amounted to 4 million marks a year. And the colonial administration of Formosa did not cost the Dutch more than 357,000 marks a year, and brought in 142,000 marks in revenue. Admittedly, however, owing to the commercial economy practised in Batavia (not until 1660 did one proceed to raise the garrison of Zelandia to 1,500 men), the Dutch were in no position to withstand a serious attack from outside. And this was undertaken in 1662. The powerful opponent of the Manchu dynasty, whom we usually refer to by the Portuguese version of his name, Koschinga, saw the collapse of his ambitious plans in China, whose coasts he had threatened with a fleet of more than 3,000 junks. So now he hurled himself on Formosa, where he was naturally received with open arms by the Chinese population. After a valiant resistance, the fort of Zelandia fell on February 1, and with this there was an end to Dutch rule in Formosa.

Koschinga enjoyed this final triumph of his agitated life for but a few months. He died on July 1662. Several scions of his race successively wore the crown of Formosa, until in 1683 the Manchus seized both the Pung-hu Islands and Formosa, making them into a governmental district (a Fu) of the province of Fu-kien.

6: Kirchhoff-30 [2] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 175

For the last twenty years the assertion, constantly repeated among us, that China laid claim to the western part only of Formosa has been false. That changed, after the danger of a Japanese seizure of the east coast became a reality. The Butang, the Formosan natives living in the southeast of the island, had plundered Japanese ships forced ashore, and in 1873 a Japanese mission was despatched to Peking to ask for satisfaction. The reply of the Tsung-li-jamen that the Chinese Government did not feel itself responsible for misdeeds committed by savages it had not subjected obviously suited the cabinet in Tokyo. Under the pretext of punishing the Butang, a well equipped Japanese expedition put out to sea in March, 1874, landed on Formosa's Southeast coast and set up an encampment there. The Butang tribes soon submitted to the Japanese; but in China this turn of events attracted much attention, a sign of the importance the Chinese attached to Formosa. The hasty purchase of weapons and the speedy shipping of Chinese troops numbering between 8,000 and 10,000 to Formosa seemed to be the prelude to an armed clash. But this did not occur; repeated lengthy diplomatic negotiations in Peking, conducted by the Japanese with pride and energy, led in the Autumn of 1874 to Japan's expressing itself satisfied with a considerable financial indemnity and recognizing China's sovereign rights over all Formosa.

6: Kirchhoff--35 U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 133, 175, 361

On the eastern side of the lagoon of Tai-uan lay the small locality of Sakkam (in Chinese: Tsche-kan), a native village of about 100 houses. In front of this the Dutch erected another fort, called Provintia or Providentia, exactly opposite Fort Zelandia, so that the lagoon was dominated on either side. After the collapse of Dutch power in Formosa, Zelandia still remained the key to the entry of the lagoon, behind which little Sakkam had grown to be the most important trading center on the island. For this reason Koschinga made it his residence and the Chinese, when they took possession in 1683, made it the seat of government and consequently called it Tai-uan-fu. But the continued growth of sandbanks that gradually rose above sea level, to the west of Fort Zelandia, made this fort useless as a coastal protection, so that it was dismantled in 1874 and a new fort built of its materials 1 1/2 km. to the south, close to the present coastline. Fort Provintia, in which the consul Swinhoe saw the Chinese temple in 1863, and which was built as a protection against the maleficent influences of the wandering spirits of the hung maô ("redhaired," the Dutch), has also been demolished since that time. It had long before been absorbed in the big irregular rectangle of Tai-uan-fu.

6: Kirchhoff--37 [2] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 175, 311, 361

Chinese settlement on the east coast is quite new, and so are the roads laid down on this coast and to the coast. Since the beginning of the 19th century Chinese settlers, for the most part people who had to expect punishment for some offense if they stopped longer in the region controlled by the Chinese Government, went round the northeast point of Formosa to the coastal plain of Kapsulan, now officially called Komalan. This plain is at most 10 to 12 km. broad. The fertility of this plain for crops of rice was soon recognized; so settlers came also who had not taken to flight, and here too, although in a hard struggle with the natives, Chinese villages gradually grew up, as far as the bay of Su-aô in the south. The favorable position of the little village of Su-aô (i. e., Su Bay), on this fine bay, was first recognized during the Japanese expedition of 1874, when it became the headquarters of the commander of the Chinese observation corps. Today Su-aô is a thriving town at the mouth of the river of the same name, whose valley forms a route for several kilometers to the southwest, towards the foot of the coastal range; all around are green rice fields, and the tea plant does well on the cleared forest soil of the surrounding heights.

6: Kirchhoff--37 [4] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 175, 563

So, at this time, the coasts of Formosa are practically in Chinese hands. About 2/3 of the whole island has become subject to China, and the fate of the native Tschehuan [MC: savage] appears to be sealed. Either their freedom disappears, for with their unceasing feuds, they are unable to protect it or like the proud camphor trees of their native woods they themselves fall beneath the murderous blows of the Chinese, who press them ever closer.

7: Joest--61 [7] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosans
116, 175, 721

Often several tribes form an alliance against a common enemy, especially against the Chinese.

These feuds often result in bloody battles. In 1874-75 the Chinese sent an expedition of 9,000 men of which 2,000 were killed; many of the victims, however, died from the effects of the climate.

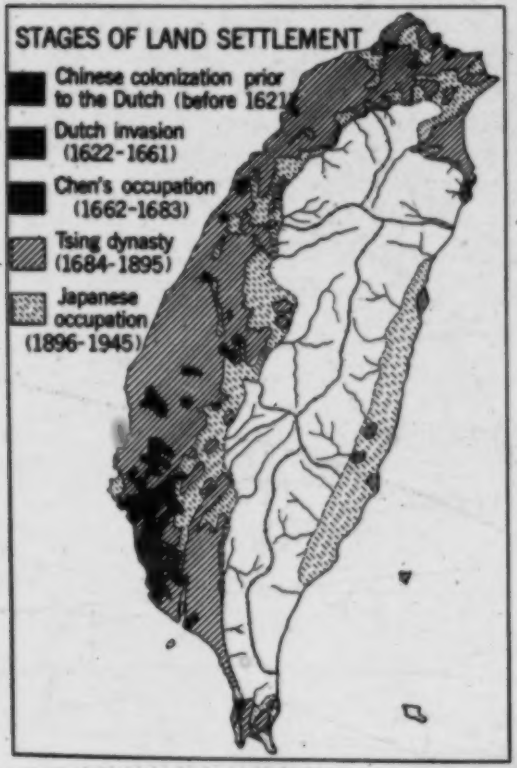
STAGES OF LAND SETTLEMENT
Chinese colonization prior to the Dutch (before 1621)
Dutch invasion (1622-1661)
Cheng's occupation (1662-1683)
Tsing dynasty (1684-1895)
Japanese occupation (1896-1945)

FIG. 4

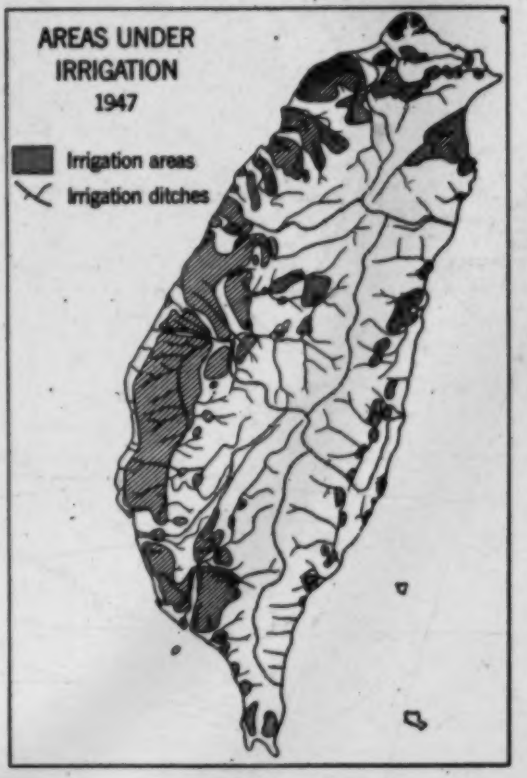
AREAS UNDER IRRIGATION
1947
Irrigation areas
Irrigation ditches

FIG. 5

9. Yamasaki--221[2] N-5 (1896-1897) 1900 Formosans
116, 175

The settling of the western half of Taiwan by the Chinese occurred in the 17th century. From that time on China, in her dealings with other powers, laid claim to the whole island, including the mountainous east, where Malayan clans nevertheless preserved their independence and no foreigner forced his way in, either Chinese or European. So our knowledge of the island also remained limited almost entirely to the low-lying western half cultivated by the Chinese.

9: Yamasaki--227 [2] N-5 (1896-1897) 1900 Formosans
116, 175

The Dutch, who at the beginning of the 17th century founded their commercial rule in the East Indian Islands, also traveled farther north to Taiwan. There they built two strongholds, Zeelandia in 1630 and Providentia in 1650. There remains can still be seen in the town of Tainan.

9: Yamasaki--233 [7] N-5 (1896-1897) 1900 Formosans 116, 135, 175

Important minerals found in Taiwan are gold, coal and sulphur. The chief sites are in North Taiwan, particularly in the surroundings of Kilung. Gold is found in two forms, as river-gold and in veins. It was first dound in Kilung-kei in 1890 by a Chinese workman who had formerly been in a Californian mine and who was occupied in constructing a railroad bridge over the river. From this time on, thousands of gold-washers have visited a long stretch of the Kilung-kei about 16 km. from its upper course at the Sanshōrei to the Shichito railroad bridge. Later gold deposits were also discovered in the mountains of Kyūfun-san and Kinkaseki, in the Zuihō region lying to the east of the port of Kilung. We learn through Dr. Ishii, the Taiwan Government geologist, that the metal is found in Kinkaseki in the zone of contact between Tertiary layers, in the main sandstone and slate, and the projecting volcanic rock, while in Kyūfun-san there are veins that are traversed by Tertiary layers. In addition gold-bearing sand was also found near Shinjō and in the Shūkoran-kei on the east coast.

10: Schumacher--223 [4] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosans
116, 164, 175

I want to state that the extremely high mortality rate among the Chinese and the Japanese is not due to unalterable circumstances. The Japanese, to quote some figures, lost 66% of their men in the course of the campaign, who were simply victims of disease. The Japanese guard division left the rough climate of Korea in the spring equipped with winter-uniforms. This factor, combined with a scarcity of provisions following the capture of Kelung, resulted in a period of terrible suffering for the division. In spite of it all the men tried to deal with a task that was beyond their powers at this state of the game. Weakened by fevers, hunger, dysentery and long marches, the group had advanced to Tschang-hua, but was in such a pitiful condition that cholera, plague, elefantiasis, and small pox found easy victims.

10: Schumacher--224 [4] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosans
116, 175, 226, 505

The Chinese fishermen of Lokkang are born on their boats and probably have never set foot in a town. They must be the direct descendants of the dangerous and powerful pirates who even hundreds of years ago were forbidden to enter Chinese ports and rivers. Now they are poverty stricken and on the way to becoming extinct because it is not quite so simple to seize ocean liners made of iron and steel as it was to catch barges and galleys. Now they sail along the coasts with their junks and pick up freight which must be unloaded the next day if they are eager to make a business of freight transportation. Carried by the flood they continue these voyages until the storm throws them on the beach or casts them adrift on the open sea where the waves are more regular than near the shallow shores, but still high enough to embrace the junks and to crush them like rotten match-boxes.

10: Schumacher--225 [12] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosans
116, 175, 652

Ten months after completion of the conquest of Formosa, the Japanese colonial budget showed an income of sixteen million Mark from the island at a time when no capital whatsoever had been invested... There can be no doubt that within the period of ten months mentioned Japan extended its control quite arbitrarily; and the mere sum of 16 million Mark that was added to the Japanese treasury proves the inexhaustible wealth of Formosa.

15: U.S. Navy--22 [8] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 181, 175, 362, 563

"The Hakka Chinese people. The ancestors of the Hakka people came to the island from the hinterland of Fukien and Kwangtung provinces. They remain distinct from other Formosans in dialect, dress and some ways of village life. They were an audacious and bellicose people when they arrived, and in the southern part of the island particularly they had to push through earlier Chinese settlements along the coast to the marginal land beyond, between the settled Chinese and the aborigines who were gradually and forcefully being dispossessed. As a consequence, even today the Hakka settlements are among the foothills rather than on the plains. This sequence of immigration has caused the Hakka to intermarry more freely with the aborigines."

15: U.S. Navy--23 [3] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 167, 175

"The Formosan-Chinese migrated to the island principally from the following places on the China coast:

(1) An-ch'i (Anki)
(2) Chia-ying (Chiaying, Kaying, Mei Hsien)
(3) Chang-chou (Changchow, Lungki)
(4) Ch'ao-chou (Chaochow, Chaoan)
(5) Hui-chou (Huichow, Waichow, Waiyueng)
(6) Hweian
(7) Nanan
(8) Sam Yup (San I)
(9) Tsingkiang
(10) Tungan"

15: U.S. Navy--28 [11] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 175, 178, 361

"The first Chinese settled in Taiwan along the southwest coast, in and about the Tainan region. Because early settlement among the aborigines was dangerous, the settlers kept their dwellings together in defensible clusters, often selecting a prominent elevation or point overlooking a stream which could serve as a moat about a compact settlement. Further north the later settlements tended to become elongated strings of houses on either side of a road or street, often along a river bank. Often they were an extension of a settlement around a temple or the walled house of a wealthy family. Throughout the north the scattered farmhouse is most common, solitary dwellings depending upon their walls and hedges for defense. Near the borders of the aborigine territory the villages still retain a fortress arrangement of many houses within a highly defensible area."

20: Alvarez--249 [2] (no date) 1927 Formosans-1-2
116, 101, 175

"The history of Formosa, as commonly known by Western historians, seems to commence in the XVIth century. It was then that first appeared the name 'Formosa', which is undoubtedly of Portuguese origin. Yet no evidence can be found in Portuguese history that this name was first applied by Portuguese to the island. The same may be said with respect to the discoverer who first saw the shores of Formosa. Nor do we know, whether the motive by which that navigator was compelled to land on those far shores to which he gave a name so much in accord with the real beauty of the island was fatal or purposive.

Among the peoples of the Far East, the Chinese and Japanese have for many centuries known the island, as in their respective histories are preserved names, such as Piisaye, Pak-kando and Taiwan (1). The latter appellation first appeared in the XVIth century,

1. Taiwan, according to the Chinese characters in use at present, means: 'bay of earthy cover', or 'high bay', though one can see no relation between this denomination and the object to which it is applied, a fact altogether contrary to Chinese custom of namegiving. It is to be presumed that the tribe called Paiwan, in whose territory the first Chinese invaders had established themselves, might have given origin to that name; or, that the word Pairan, the nickname applied by the Formosan aboriginal inhabitants to the Chinese, induced the latter to call the island by this name. The Chinese dialect of

> Formosa locks the R, and the interchange of P and T, in order to soften the pronunciation, make that supposition very probable.

and it is still in use among the Chinese and Japanese. The latter of course had already known the island under the name Takasago, 'a place most beautiful and famous in Japan', according to a Japanese author. Taikosama, who in 1592 sent an expedition with the object of subjecting the island to his empire, called it Takasago, viz., 'Kingdom of the great mountains'. This took place long before the arrival of Europans [sic] at Formosa. These possessed the island for a short time only; the Spaniards occupied the northern part from 1626 to 1641, while the Dutch, first established in the south and afterwards possessing the whole eastern section from 1624 to 1661, were expelled by the wild Koxinka, or Ti-kok-sieng. From now on Formosa formed an independent kingdom under the name of Tong-to, or Tonglieng, viz., 'Oriental Metropolis'. Here reference is surely made to its geographical position with respect to that of China."

20: Alvarez--249-250 (no date) 1927 Formosans
116, 175

"In 1683, Kochuan, a grandson of Koxinga, was obliged to cede the sceptre he had inherited from his grandfather, to the Tartaric dynasty. The latter then usurped the power in the Celestial Empire, and Formosa, united with China, since that time became a mere colony of the same. This state of affairs was prolonged until the last war, in 1895, when the Japanese annexed the [250]island. At present they continue with pride to be the lords of beautiful Formosa."

25: Plaut--28 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosans
116, 175

During the course of her history, Japan had made two attempts to gain a foothold on Formosa before the much praised and highly abused island finally passed into her possession; the first time was in 1614-5, when the Shogun Iyeyasu ordered the Governor of Nagasaki, Murayama Toan to take 3-4,000 men, and to seize Takasago, as the Japanese called Formosa at that period. He succeeded in establishing himself, but a few years later he abandoned his conquered territory as he was not receiving sufficient support from his homeland. The second landing of Japanese troops occurred in 1874. Some shipwrecked Japanese had been murdered by the wild Butangs, and as the Chinese Government refused to make any compensation, General Saigo Tsugumichi was dispatched to Formosa with 3500 men. His forces conquered the savages without much difficulty, and then began to settle in the territory which they had conquered; but they were recalled that same year after China had pledged to pay an indemnity.

28: Hervey de Saint-Denys--106-107 S-4 (no date) 1874 Formosans-1-2
116, 114, 175

Since the earliest days of our history, Chinese vessels cruised in the Chinese and Japanese waters...and in 109 B.C. a fleet of the Emperor Hiao-ou-ti transported an army of 50,000 men across the Pe-tche-li gulf to Korea.

When we consider all the facts, it is logical to believe that the Chinese did not know anything about Formosa until 1430? Klaproth's memoire [EJ: Tableaux historiques de l'Asie.] declares that this is incredible, but I think that it is just as impossible to assume, as he does, that Ma-touan-lin did not even mention the large island of Formosa, which is separated from Fo-kien by a narrow strait. This Ma-touan-lin enumerates and describes all of the countries which the Chinese knew and visited, and some of them were so far distant that it took six months, eight months, or even a year to reach them. He speaks of Luzon, Borneo, the Moluccas and perhaps even of California, which he calls by the mysterious name of Fou-sang. [107]

Klaproth says: "The Chinese historians did not mention Formosa because its inhabitants did not send any embassies, or pay any tribute."

We shall see later that this assertion contains a double error, and Ma-touan-lin mentions a large number of little countries which had never sent any ambassadors, or paid any tribute.

In my opinion, the question simply became a matter of deciding what name Ma-touan-lin had used for Formosa (as Taï-ouan, the modern name for the island, was not

employed until long after Ma-touan-lin's time).

According to Klaproth and his Tableaux historiques de l'Asie, the inhabitants of Formosa may have been called Man-ti from the third century B.C. until the fifth century of our era; but this term cannot be used as the title for any particular articles for the name Man-ti was a generic one which the Chinese authors used to designate all the foreigners in the south. From the fifth century to the twelfth, the Tableaux historiques omit Formosa, as if the Chinese had lost even the vague information which they had previously possessed about the island....

28: Hervey de Saint-Denys--107-111 S-4 (no date) 1874 Formosans-1-3
116, 175

But I felt that I had to keep looking for some reference to Formosa in Ma-touan-lin before deciding to accept such an extraordinary fact as [108] the complete omission of the island. Finally I read this under the title of Lieou-kieou:

" The Lieou-kieou kingdom consists of an island or islands (the Chinese text does not show whether this should be singular or plural), which are in the open sea east of the city of Tsiouen-tcheou (Chinese province of Fo-kien). As you approach the coast of Fo-kien, there are some islands called Peng-hou, and from them you can see the smoke of the dwellings in this kingdom. It takes five days to sail there."

"During the Soui dynasty, the first of the Chinese years ta-nie (605 of our era), a sailor named Ho-man and several other Chinese of the same profession said: when the sky is fair and the sea is calm if you look east, it seems as if you can see some smoke rising from dwellings. About this same time the emperor Yang-ti ordered the military mandarin Tchu-kouan to sail in quest of unknown lands. Tchu-kouan had heard this tale of Ho-man, so he took this sailor with him, and they went together to the kingdom of Lieou-kieou. They could not understand the language of the inhabitants but they seized a native, who had come on board, and returned to China. [109]

The next year (606), the Emperor ordered Admiral Tchin-ling to assemble his forces and to lead an expedition to the Lieou-kieou kingdom. Tchin-ling left Y-ngan (now Tchao-tcheou-fou, in Kouang-tong province), sailed across the sea and stopped first

on the small island called Kao-hoa; then he sailed one day more, and reached the kingdom of Lieou-kieou.

The inhabitants of this kingdom refused to surrender. Then Tchin-ling attacked them, beat them, burned their houses and palaces, took several thousand prisoners and came back to China. Ma-touan-lin adds that after this time there was no connection with this kingdom."

If you look at a map you will see that the Chinese fleet must have landed on Formosa.

The fleet goes first from Y-ngan to Kao-hoa which is the most southern island of the Peng-hou group, that still bear this name today. The distance is about thirty-eight myriameters in a straight line, and it took them two days to make this voyage. Then they sail another two days and reach Youen-peï, at the northern tip of the Peng-hou archipelago. (The little island Youen-peï has not changed its name either, and you still find it on the Chinese maps). This time the distance seems short for the amount of time expended, but the navigating conditions in these waters [110] explain the difficulties which the expedition encountered.

The shores of Formosa are so steep and studded with reefs that they are practically inaccessible to anyone who is unfamiliar with them. Moreoever, from south to north, there are such strong and dangerous currents that even a steamboat does not dare risk them today without an excellent pilot. So it is very probable that the expedition was

carried north while it was hunting for a good anchorage, and that the two days from Kao-hoa to Youen-peï were spent tacking and making fruitless attempts to land.

Finally on the fifth day the Chinese leave the anchorage at Youen-pei and that very day they land at the kingdom of Lieou-kieou.

This last statement furnishes adequate proof that Lieou-kieou must designate Formosa. We already kenw that it would have been impossible to see the smoke of the modern islands of Lieou-kieou from the Peng-hou islands; the distance is over two hundred leagues, and they are separated by Formosa, which raises its curtain of mountainous peaks between these two archipelagoes. As no ship can make that trip in one day (even Klaproth admits that it takes at least four, and then you have to have a good wind), we can say that the proof is sufficient and that [111] Formosa is the only place where the Chinese could have landed.

Accordingly, Lieuou-kieou is the original name which the Chinese gave to Formosa, and everything that Ma-touan-lin and his predecessors told about the kingdom of Lieou-kieou applies to Formosa.

Here we must refer to the mistake which Klaproth made both in his memoire on Formosa and in the description of the Lieou-kieou islands. [EJ: i.e., in his Tableaux historique de l'Asie.] As he was deceived by the name Lieou-kieou, he assumed that the Chinese expedition of 606 had visited these islands, and as he attributed to them what was really the ancient history of Formosa, he did not have any documents to use for the history of the island. He thought that there was a gap in the accounts of the Chinese historians, whereas he was making this gap himself; and while he criticized the Peking missionaries for setting the discovery of Formosa at a much too recent date he made the error which must have motivated their statements.

Now that we have established the main fact, we find that there is a great deal of supplementary proof to corroborate it....

The Chinese text says that the Lieou-kieou country has a great many mountains and caves, that it is governed by a large number of petty kings, that you find wolves, tigers and bears there, and that the customs of the natives in the northern part of the land were quite different from those of the inhabitants [112] in the central and southern portions of the kingdom. Such statements are perfectly applicable to such a large island as Formosa, but they do not fit the Lieou-kieou group, where the largest island is scarcely eighteen leagues long by eight leagues wide; it does not have a single wild animal, and the only mountain is in the north. This is according to the description

which Father Furet gave us recently.

The account of Ma-touan-lin adds that the inhabitants of the country spoke a language which they could not understand. Again this applies to Formosa, because its Oceanic population had never dealt with the Chinese, but it would not fit the people of the Lieou-kieou, whose language is simply a Japanese dialect. Then the Japanese annals show that these islanders had been on intimate terms with the empire since ancient times, since the mother of the famous first mikado, Zin-mou, came from there.

Finally Ma-touan-lin's account accuses the inhabitants of this island of being cannibals, and this has never been imputed to the Lou-tchouans or to the Japanese populations. Then Klaproth mentions this very fact in his account of Formosa. He says that "Rightly or wrongly, the Chinese accuse the Formosans of being anthropophagous; they claim that the villagers gather to [113] feast upon the men who were slain in battle and even on the invalids, old men and orphans."

Ma-touan-lin says about the Lieou-kieou: "After a combat the dead are piled up together, and people gather to eat them. When a person dies in the southern part of the kingdom, the inhabitants of the village and the surrounding countryside collect to devour him."

On the contrary, when Klaproth describes the residents of the real Lieou-kieou islands, he writes: "The inhabitants are like the Chinese in venerating the dead. They

burn the bodies and preserve the ashes."

This contradiction, and several other similar ones, did not escape the scholar, but they did not show him the whole truth. He merely deleted from Ma-touan-lin's article about the Lieou-kieou the passages which were absolutely incompatible with the ethnography of these islands.

It is equally interesting to compare several passages of this article of Ma-touan-lin with a description of Taï-ouan of Formosa which was published by Father du Halde in 1735.

Father du Halde writes: "Although the Formosan islanders are subject to the Chinese, they have preserved some traces of their former government. Each village selects four or five of the elders who are reputed to be very honest, [114] and they become the chiefs of the village.

Ma-touan-lin wrote:."There are four or five head chiefs who govern each center or village. The villages select their own chiefs."

Father du Halde says: "You are amazed at the speed of these islanders; they can outrun galloping horses."

Ma-touan-lin wrote: "The men in the kingdom can run extraordinarily fast." Father du Halde said: "The men wear a cylindrical hat, and over it they have an aigrette of chicken or pheasant feathers."

Ma-touan-lin wrote: "The men wear high hats which they adorn with a tuft of feathers."
Father du Halde said: "They put several strange floral or animal designs on their skin."
Ma-touan-lin wrote: "They use a needle and a special kind of ink to mark their skin with figures of insects and snakes."
Father du Halde, and then Klaproth said: "Like many of the inhabitants of the Indian islands, the Formosans behead their dead enemies and keep these trophies."
Ma-touan-lin wrote: "They pile skulls around the dwelling of their king, and [115] they believe that this constitues a glorious monument.
Father du Halde says: "When a young man has found a girl whom he wants to marry, he takes a musical instrument to her door, and he does this several days in a row. If the girl loves him, she goes outside to join her suitor. They make their plans themselves, and then tell their fathers and mothers about them."
Ma-touan-lin wrote: "When a boy and girl love each other, they decide to get married and then tell their parents."

This final characteristic is interesting because it is so different from the Japanese customs which are observed on the Lieou-kieou islands, and which resemble the Chinese fashion of having the parents arrange the match; frequently the young people have never met before the wedding in that land.

Someone may think that Father du Halde simply drew these details from the work of Ma-touan-lin, but I do not believe that this is the case. I think that Father du Halde gathered the data which was available at his time. But even if we should admit this supposition, it would even serve to stregthen the evidence of this scholarly Jesuit, for it would show that Father du Halde did as I have done, that is, he applied to Formosa some Chinese documents which were recorded under the title of Lieou-kieou.

28: Hervey de Saint-Denys--116-121 S-4 (no date) 1874 Formosans-1-4
116, 175

It would be a simple matter to give more quotations [116] but it seems to me that I have given abundant proof that Tai-ouan or Formosa is indeed the land which the Chinese first visited in 605 or 606, and which had no further connection with the compatriots of Ma-touan-lin until the time of this writer. (1)

1. It is possible to raise the objection that Ma-touan-lin says that it took five days to go from the harbor of Y-ngan (Tchao-tcheou-fou) to the kingdom of Lieou-kieou by way of the Peng-hou islands, while that crossing can be done in a much shorter time today; but a vessel which is seeking its way is not like one following a definite course. Moreover, Ma-touan-lin himself says that at that time there was no communication with Lieou-kieou kingdom as no one had gone back there since 606; accordingly, the five days sailing is based on the amount of time which the expedition required in the seventh century.

We still have to explain a few obscurities and apparent contradictions which appear if you try to apply everything recorded by the Chinese writers, who came after Ma-touan-lin, to one country. Klaproth made this attempt.
In the seventh century, especially, there were envoys from Lieou-kieou at the Chinese

court, and they did not come from Formosa. But gradually we see that the identity of names makes it easy to get confused, and that the Chinese used the term Lieou-kieou for the whole group of islands formed by the chain of submarine mountains that extends from Fo-kien to Japan (Formosa, the Madjikosima and [117] the Lieou-kieou). This was true until the 16th century when they turned their attention on Formosa again, and finally gave it a special name; at first they called it Ki-long, from the Dutch port, and then Tai-ouan (the high peaks), its present name; this comes from the capital and the mountain at whose foot it lies.

Here are the proofs for this statement:

Ma-touan-lin explains why the name Lieou-kieou was applied to the country, which the expedition visited in 606. He declares that the Japanese embassy happened to be at the Chinese court at the time. When people asked them about the islands lying between Japan and China, they spoke of Riou-kiou (Chinese Lieou-kieou) islands, with which the Japanese had dealt for centuries. The Chinese evidently thought that the island which they had discovered was a prolongation of the archipelago to which the Japanese had referred, and so they use this collective name, which caused a number of errors.

Now let us look at the large Chinese geography Tai-tsing-y-tong-tchi, which was published during the last century. In the article entitled Lieou-kieou, it states that the central part of the island, where the expedition landed in 606, is in the same latitude

[118] as the Mei-ling chain of mountains, which separates the Chinese provinces of Fo-kien and Kouang-tong; this is true of Formosa. Then this same geography says that on the whole the Lieou-kieou islands lie east of the Chinese territories of Tchang-tcheou, Tsiouen-tcheou-Hing-tcheou and Fou-tcheou. If we look at good map, it is easy to see that Formosa is east of Tchang and Tsiouen-tcheou, while you find the Lieou-kieou islands east of Hing and Fou-tcheou.

Finally the Tai-tsing-y-tong-tchi geography observes that formerly there were two kingdom of Lieou-kieou, and that they were inhabited by barbarians of different colors; one group was similar to the Japanese, while the other was a coppery red in hue. This ethnographic indication shows the division between the yellow race of the modern Lieou-kieou islands and the Oceanic race of Formosa.

Let us add that on all the Chinese maps an islet placed south of Formosa is still called little Lieou-kieou (siao Lieou-kieou), and Klaproth himself had to mention the fact that Formosa was called big Lieou-kieou (ta Lieou-kieou) on a Chinese map of the sixteenth century, which he used to make his 25th picture of Tableaux historiques de l'-Asie. So there was a large and a small Lieou-kieou at least, in addition to the real Lieou-kieou, and [119] these two facts tally with each other....

We may accept these facts as proved:

1. Klaproth was wrong in believing that the names Fan and Man-ti were terms

which the Chinese applied particularly to the inhabitants of Formosa; they [120] were generic names for all the foreigners from the south.

2. It would be wrong to think that the Chinese had no term whatsoever to designate the island from the 5th to the 12th century.

3. The Chinese paid their first visit to Formosa in 605. They made an expedition to it the next year, and in Ma-touan-lin's description of it he refers to the island as Lieou-kieou.

4. During Ma-touan-lin's lifetime, no other Chinese expedition went to the country of Lieou-kieou and no embassy came from there. So Formosa was the only Lieou-kieou island which was known to the Chinese; we cannot tell exactly when they discovered the real Lieou-kieou islands, but we believe that it was not before the middle of the thirteenth century.

5. Gradually the Chinese made the acquaintance of the Madjikosima and Lieou-kieou archipelagoes, which lie in the direction of Japan, but for a long time this did not influence them to look for the new name. They included all of these islands under the same name until the 16th century, when they gave a special name to Formosa. [121]

6. Accordingly, all Chinese documents which referred to Lieou-kieou before the 13th century may be applied to Formosa.

29: Hervey de Saint-Denys--435-441 S-4 (no date) 1875 Formosans-1-7
116, 175

The review of the meeting of the Société asiatique, which was held on November 13, 1874, appeared in the Journal asiatique of last December, and it contained this note:

"In his article on Formosa [EJ: this article is source 28: Hervey de Saint Denys.] (Journal asiatique, August-September issue, 1874, p.119), M. d'Hervey de Saint-Denys expressed regret at not having been able to consult the Taï-tsing y-tong-tchi geography on the ancient history of Taï-ouan, and he added that the two leaves which he needed to examine were missing from the copy which is in the National Library. M. Specht says that the National Library has two copies of this Chinese work, one of which, catalogued as number 289, is a second edition which was published in 1764, and has several missing pages at the beginning of the kiouen 337; but the second copy, which is a first edition and appeared in 1744, has this article in the kiouen 271, column 21." [436]

I was busy teaching and working on the notes for my translation of Ma-touan-lin, which is is being published, and so I did not have time to refer to this at once; but I have just read these pages, and I am most grateful to M. Specht for having called my attention to the fact that there was a second copy of the Tai-tsing y-tong-tchi geography in the National Library. The historic section of the article on Tai-ouan is too brief to be of value, but a geographic appendix confirms what I have stated about the identity of Formosa with the country which the Chinese called Lieou-Kieou for a long time.

29: Hervey de Saint-Denys--435-441 S-4 (no date) 1875 Formosans-2
116, 175

After describing Formosa as a department of the province of Fo-kien, and bearing the name Tai-ouan-fou, the Tai-tsing y-tong-tchi geography mentions the Peng-hou islands (the Pescadores) which belong to it, and says this:

"Peng-hou Islands. They lie in the sea, west of the district of Tai-ouan; and across from these islands, but still toward the west, is the place called Kin-men-so, which belongs to Tsiouen-tcheou (Fo-kien). In the Histoire des Song (1) we read that the kingdom

1. The Song dynasty reigned over China from 960 to 1279.

of Lieou-kieou is east of Tsiouen-tcheou, and that you can see the fires and smoke from the islands of Peng-hou. [437] The Histoire des Youen (2) says this: the Peng-hou

2. The Youen dynasty reigned from 1260 to 1279 with the Songs, and then alone from 1279 to 1368.

islands, which are across from the Lieou-kieou, are in the limits of the four territories of Tchang-tcheou, Tsiouen-tcheou, Hing-tcheou and Foutcheou. On the farther side of

the Peng-hou islands there is a current (or there are currents) which becomes (become) very strong as you approach the shores of Lieou-kieou. It is (or they are) called Lo-tsi (which throws at the coast). The waters drop rapidly and do not come back, so it is a very dangerous region. During the twenty-eighth year of tchi-youen (1293), Ou-tchi-teou, who was a native of Fo-kien, said that if they wanted to get possession of Lieou-kieou, they would have to get a foothold on the Peng-hou islands and send vessels (full of troops) from there. The next year (1294) an expedition set out from Ting-tcheou to do this. It failed, and the boats returned to the anchorage of the Peng-hou. According to an old geography (continues the Taï-tsing y-tong-tchi), the main island contains mountains which have a gentle slope and fertile valleys. It measures about fifty li from east to west and about twenty li from north to south. It is surrounded by a large number of islets. If you sail east from the city of Tsiouen-tcheou, you can reach it in three days."

[438] Every line of this document is important, but let us examine the date of publication first. Formosa is no longer the foreign land which the Chinese had formerly included in the collective term of the Lieou-kieou archipelago. The island has become the Chinese department of Tai-ouan, which contains a district of the same name, both of which are named for the very modern city of Taï-ouan which is the capital of the island. When it wants to give the location of the Peng-hou islands, the Taï-tsing y-tong-tchi

begins by stating that they are west of the Taï-ouan district, in the direction of Kin-men (the gates of gold), a harbor which is south and in the limits of Tsiouen-tcheou. After giving the contemporary place names, the geography of Tsin quotes two old books which tell some interesting information about the Peng-hou islands, and in both of these statements Formosa is naturally called Lieou-kieou, just as a Latin author would refer to Portugal as Lusitania.

Could anything be clearer and more precise:

He has just said that "the Peng-hou islands are west of Tai-ouan, and farther west is the Chinse city of Tsiouen-tcheou;" then he gives it another form by adding: "The Song history says that the kingdom of Lieou-kieou is east of Tsiouen-tcheou, and that you can see the fires and smoke from various places on the Peng-hou islands." And then he goes on to say that [439] the same fact is recorded in the History of the Youen, where it is written that "The Peng-hou islands, which are also across from Lieou-kieou, (3) are

3. The space occupied by the Peng-hou islands is much smaller than the History of the Youen assumes. They are all between lat. 23° and 24°, whereas Formosa extends from lat. 22° to 25° and beyond, so on the eastern side they cannot face any other country

than Formosa (Lieou-kieou). Moreover, these waters do not have any other islands or islets with which you could confuse them.

within the coastal limits of the four territories of Tchang-tcheou, Tsiouen-tcheou, Hing-tcheou and Fou-tcheou, that is in the canal of Fo-kien and Formosa."

That ought to be sufficient proof to dispel any doubts. However, the Tai-tsing y-tong-tchi does not stop there, and he becomes even more explicit; he speaks of the violent currents which you find between the Peng-hou islands and the shores of Lieou-kieou (Formosa), and he says that these currents are called Lo-tsi; Chinese sailors still use that name for them today. (4)

4. I obtained this decisive evidence from Baron de Méritens, who was formerly head of the southern customs for the Chinese Government; he lived for twelve years in Fou-tcheou, which is the capital of Fo-kien, and he made several trips from the Chinese coasts to Formosa, passing by way of the Peng-hou islands. For further information about the nature of the currents, which the Chinese call lo-tsi, and which cast vessels on the Formosan coast, see the Nautical Instructions, which were published by the Navy Department, no. 426, p. 21, 24, etc.

29: Hervey de Saint-Denys--435-441 S-4 (no date) 1875 Formosans-6
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[440] He depicts the Chinese fleet which gathered on the Peng-hou islands to attempt a landing on the neighboring shores, and then its return to the same anchorage after the failure of the expedition. Finally he tells how long it took to make the trip in the Chinese vessels: "If you sail from Tsiouen-tcheou, you can reach the Peng-hou islands in three days." You could not have a better confirmation of what Ma-touan-lin tells in his article on the Lieou-kieou kingdom, and in his description of the Chinese expedition of 606, I have taken the essential facts about this from my memoire: Sur Formose et sur les iles appelées en chinois Lieou-kieou. [EJ: source 28: Hervey de Saint-Denys.]

The Chinese expedition of 606 left Y-ngan and sailed three days before it arrived at Youen-peï (one of the Peng-hou islands). Y-ngan, which is now called Tsiouen-tcheou-fou, is about the same distance from the Peng-hou islands as Tsiouen-tcheou (about forty myriameters, as the crow flies), while the distance from the Peng-hou islands to the real Lieou-kieou islands is four times as great. If it takes a ship three days to go from Y-ngan or Tsiouen-tcheou to the Peng-hou islands, it could not go from the Peng-hou to the real Lieou-kieou in less than ten or twelve days; yet Ma-touan-lin says definitely that 1) they went from Tsiouen-tcheou to Lieou-kieou in five days, and that 2) the expedition of 606 spent one day crossing from the Youen-pei (Peng-hou islands) anchorage [441] to the place where the Chinese soldiers landed on the Lieou-kieou soil.

29: Hervey de Saint-Denys--435-441 S-4 (no date) 1875 Formosans-7
116, 175

I have already presented this last point in my memoir, but the fragment of the Tai-tsing y-tong-tchi that I have just been reading stresses this fact, and then even a glance at the maps of the Chinese Sea will show you that no vessel from the Tsiouen-tcheou territory could ever have sailed toward the Peng-hou islands to go to the ones which are called the Lieou-kieou today.

This is the information which I found in the Tai-tsing y-tong-tchi. But I also consulted the special Fo-kien geography which is entitled Fo-kien tong-tchi. And the expedition of 606 against Lieou-kieou, which was undertaken at the command of Emperor Yang-ti and was under the orders of Tchin-ling, is described in the historical notice about Tai-ouan (K. 64, folio 1, verso), with the additional information that the fleet passed little Lieou-kieou (siao Lieou-kieou), and that you could still see on Kao-hoa the vestiges of the brick and stone constructions which the Chinese soldiers of the expeditionary force built; since they could not take possession of Formosa, they evidently tried to establish a naval base in this little harbor.

PART II

HISTORICAL SETTING

I. EARLY RELATIONS WITH MAINLAND CHINA

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Because they possess no written language, the aboriginal people of Formosa cannot account for their own emergence on the island. Although the island of Formosa must have been known to the Chinese from time immemorial (its mountains are discernible on a clear day and its coast lies less than a day's sail from the Mainland), ancient Chinese chronicles contain few references to the island. Obscurity is heightened by the confusion of Formosa with the Ryu-kyu islands in ancient times. Most historians date the known history of Formosa from 605 when the Chinese Emperor Sui Yang Ti dispatched the first official mission to assert his authority over the island.[1] The direction taken by the voyagers and their description of the life of early inhabitants leave no doubt that Formosa was the island on which the imperial

1. Lien Heng, T'aiwan t'ung-shih [General History of Taiwan], Shanghai Commercial Press, 2nd ed., 1936, Vol. I, p. 2.

175 emissaries landed. Since then Formosa has been the destination of a number of similar expeditions, but none appear to have succeeded in subduing the hostile natives. During the reign of Kublai Khan (1263-1294), the first civil administration under a local official, given the rank of Hsü-chien-ssu [Inspector], was established in the neighboring Pescadores.[2] Despite the fact that Formosa and the Ryu-Kyu islands were discovered to be separate and distinct, the name Ryu-Kyu or Liu-ch'iu was still used for Formosa.[3]

During the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), Formosa emerged as a retreat for Japanese and Chinese outlaws and malcontents. The Chinese rovers settled in the southwest region around the present city of Tainan; their Japanese counterparts made Keelung their headquarters. With superior armanent these men of the high seas had no difficulty in ousting the aborigines from the coastal areas. Combining piracy with legitimate trade, they grew in strength and

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2. Ibid., p. 6.

3. T'ai-wan Sheng T'ung-chih-kao [Gazeteer of Taiwan Province], Taiwan Sheng wen-hsien wei-yüan-hui [Historical Research Commission of Taiwan Province], Taipei, 1950-52, Premier Series, Book II, p. 8.

175 wealth. They became so formidable that the Ming emperor tried to pacify them by offering them government commissions. One such chief who diverted his activities to government service was Cheng Chih-lung, the father of Cheng Ch'eng-kung (Koxinga), whose regime as ruler of Formosa lasted from 1662 to 1683.

II. UNDER THE DUTCH, 1623-1661

The Portuguese were the pioneers among Europeans exploring Far Eastern waters. Their permanent settlement was established at Macao in 1557. While trading along the coast of China and with Japan, they often sighted the island of Formosa, and despite the fact that they bestowed upon it the western name it bears, they never attempted to establish a settlement there.[4] Toward the end of the sixteenth century, the Dutch began to dispute the monopoly of commerce held by the Portuguese. However, repeated Dutch expeditions failed to dislodge the Portuguese in Macao. Encountering a typhoon during one of those unsuccessful missions, the Dutch fleet ran for shelter to the Pescadores. Thus acquainted with the islands, they later seized them and used them as a base from which

4. James W. Davidson, Formosa, Past and Present, London and New York, Macmillan & Co., 1903, p. 10.

175 to raid the China coast and disrupt commerce between China, Japan, and the Philippines. The interference with regular trade had become so serious by 1624 that the Chinese were compelled to offer a treaty which gave to the Dutch certain commercial privileges with China if they would agree to leave the Pescadores and occupy a trading post on Formosa.[5]

In Formosa, the Dutch acquired a strategic location, from which Spanish commerce between Manila and China and Portuguese commerce between Macao and Japan could be made so precarious by constant attacks that much of it would be thrown into the hands of the Dutch, and thus Dutch trade with China and Japan could continue without interruption.[6] For defense, two forts were constructed, one called Fort Zelandia, at the entrance of Anping harbor, and another further inland, called Fort Provintia.[7]

Fearing the loss of the Chinese market and sensing the potential threat to the Philippines, the Spaniards seized the port of

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5. T'ai-wan Sheng Cheng-fu Hsin-Wen Ch'u [Information Bureau, Taipei Provincial Government of Taiwan], T'ai-wan Hsin-chih [A New Account of Taiwan], Taipei, 1903, p. 3.

6. James W. Davidson, op. cit., p. 13.

7. Fort Zelandia was located within the present confines of Anping, and Fort Provintia in present Tainan.

• 175 Keelung in northern Formosa in 1626 and later extended their domain to Tamsui. Tamsui, the port nearest the China Mainland, was already inhabited by a large number of Chinese merchants. The Dutch had no wish to tolerate the presence of a rival, but they were involved with England in a bitter struggle. For fifteen years they made no serious attempt to rid themselves of the Spanish.[8] In 1639, part of the Spanish garrison was transferred from northern Formosa to the Philippines to fight rebellious tribesmen in Jolo and Mindanao, and the fort at Tamsui was demolished.[9] Seizing this opportunity, the Dutch captured Northern Formosa after a brief seige in June 1653.

With the entire island under their control, Dutch trade flourished. Although enormous profits were derived from commerce, the Council of the Dutch East Indies Company also tried to extract as much wealth as possible from the island. The Chinese inhabitants, who numbered more than 50,000, were required to pay a head tax which yielded 200,000 guilders annually.[10] Heavy duties were levied on rice

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8. Jose M. Alvarez, Formosa, Geografica E Historicamente Considerada, Barcelona, 1930, Vol. II, p. 80.

9. Ibid., p. 81.

10. Frederick Coyett; Verwaerloosde Formosa, Amsterdam, 1675, p. 15.

• 175 and sugar, the two staple products of the island. There was also a hunting tax, and a number of other taxes; "even the unfortunate fishermen... [were] obliged to give to the government a portion of their catch."[11] Resentment among the Chinese was high. In 1656 there was a revolt led by Kuo Huai, also known as Fayet, but he was defeated in fourteen days and over 4,000 Chinese were slaughtered.[12] After this incident the Dutch redoubled their oppression. On the least pretext Chinese settlers were thrown into prison and cruelly tortured. This mistreatment led the Chinese to look to their countrymen on the Mainland for deliverance.

As previously mentioned, Cheng Chih-lung, one of the former leaders of the Chinese settlement in Formosa, had entered the service of the Ming emperor. In 1644, Peking was captured by the Manchus, who established the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1912). Loyal supporters of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) attempted to oppose the Manchu invasion in South China, and Cheng was given the command of all loyalist forces. Cheng Chih-lung, having received a lucrative offer from the Manchus, surrendered to the invaders in 1646. He was succeeded by

11. J. W. Davidson, op. cit., p. 24.
12. Lien Heng, op. cit., vol. i, p. 13.

• 175 his son, Cheng Ch'eng-kung, whom the Dutch named Koxinga,[13] one of the most extraordinary characters ever to appear in China.[14] The young Cheng was born of a Japanese mother and was educated at the Academy of Learning at Nanking. When his father was taken to Peking by the Ch'ing forces, he dramatically discarded his scholastic robe in the Temple of Confucius and vowed to continue armed opposition. Establishing his headquarters at Amoy and Quemoy, he gathered around him many able Ming supporters. He waged vigorous campaigns against the coastal provinces, retook a number of cities in Fukien, Chekiang, and Kwangtung provinces, and later advanced on Nanking. Although he suffered heavy losses before the wall of the old capital, his military powers were feared by the Manchus.

Unable to subdue Cheng Ch'eng-kung by military means, the Manchus resorted to the

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13. When presented to the court at the age of twenty-two, he so impressed the Emperor that he was given the imperial family name, a signal honor. Ever since, the young Cheng has been hailed as Kuo-hsing-yeh or Lord of the Imperial Surname, from which the Dutch derived the name Koxinga and the Spanish Cotsen.

14. Davidson, op. cit., p. 31.

•175 "scorched earth" policy. By an imperial mandate, all the people from Kwangtung to Shantung who lived within ten or fifteen miles of the sea were ordered to demolish their homes and to move inland. Along the coast forts were erected every three miles, and each was garrisoned by one hundred men. No unauthorized person was allowed to pass into the restricted zone, so that Cheng's supplies would be completely cut off.[15] Deprived of provisions, Cheng Ch'eng-kung was compelled to look to other quarters for maintenance. The fertile island of Formosa, which his father once controlled, came to the attention of Cheng Ch'eng-kung. Preparations were made to establish a foothold across the strait.

The concentration of military power in Amoy aroused the apprehension of the Dutch authorities on Formosa. In 1660 the Dutch governor, Frederick Coyett, appealed to the Dutch East Indies Company at Batavia for help. Twelve ships were dispatched to Formosa, but the commander, Admiral Jan Van der Laan, had no respect for the military power of the Chinese. Leaving four of his ships in Formosa, he returned with the remainder of his fleet to Batavia and accused Governor Coyett of

15. Lien Heng, op. cit., p. 23.

• 175 cowardice.[16] On April 24, 1661, twenty days after the departure of the Dutch fleet, Cheng Ch'eng-kung appeared in the Pescadores with 25,000 of his best troops and entered Anping harbor five days later.[17] All communications between the forts of Zelandia and Provintia were immediately intercepted. After some ineffectual resistance, Fort Provintia and the deputy-governor who commanded it surrendered on May 4, 1661, and Fort Zelandia on February 1, 1662.

III. CHENG CH'ENG-KUNG'S KINGDOM 1662-1683

Leaving his son Cheng Ching in control of Amoy and vicinity, Cheng Ch'eng-kung to whom the last Ming emperor had given the title of the Prince of Yen Ping, moved his court to Formosa. The village of Sakkam where Fort Provintia was located was renamed Sheng-tien-fu[18] and made the capital of the island. Chinese laws, customs, and forms of government were introduced.[19] The pledge to regain the lost territory of the old dynasty was renewed, and faithful Ming adherents were placed in charge of the administrative departments.

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16. Davidson, op. cit., p. 35.

17. T'ai-wan Sheng T'ung-chih-kao, op. cit., Vol. IX, 1, pp. 174-204.

18. Present-day Tainan.

19. All traces of the Dutch occupation have been obliterated. The Dutch had taught the

[see following page]

•175 To acquaint himself with the conditions of his new domain, Cheng Ch'eng-kung conducted an inspection tour of northern Formosa. Having early suffered privation of food, Cheng devoted his first attention to the development of agriculture. Plots of land were allotted to his soldiers and liberal treatment was accorded to migrants from the Mainland, who were given land to cultivate exempt from taxation for three years. In return, they were obliged to undergo military training and would be expected to join the army should the necessity arise.[20] New schools, new roads, and markets were built, and prosperous settlements sprang up along the coast.

Encouraged by his triumph in Formosa, Cheng Ch'eng-kung aspired to add the Philippines to his kingdom. He asked an Italian missionary, Vittorio Riccio, to take a letter to Manila, demanding submission. When the ultimatum was delivered, the Spaniards

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19. [continued] natives to write their own language in Roman characters. Some land contracts written in Romanized native languages, which are on exhibit in the Taipei public museum, form the only Dutch relics. No Dutch words exist in the savage dialects. J. W. Davidson, op. cit., p. 48.

20. Lien Heng, op. cit. Vol. 1, p. 22.

•175 massacred very nearly all of the Chinese in the Philippines.[21] Only a handful escaped in small boats. Cheng Ch'eng-kung was infuriated by their reports and immediately launched preparations for an expedition of vengeance. Another landmark in history might have been created[22] had not death abruptly put an end to his ambition.

Cheng Ch'eng-kung, who died at the age of thirty-nine, was a strict disciplinarian. For some misconduct he is said to have ordered the execution of his own son, whose life was saved only by his father's sudden death.[23] Cheng Ching, the son, strengthened defenses of the island, established an effective administration, revived friendly relations with foreign powers, and attempted to invade the Mainland. At last, after a number of battles in the three coastal provinces of Fukien,

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21. "No less than 24,000 Chinese were killed in cold blood." Japan in the Beginning of the 20th Century, the Japanese government, Tokyo, 1904, p. 779.

22. The Spanish forces in Manila were not superior in strength to those the Dutch had possessed in Formosa, and it is not unlikely that Koxinga would have had like success, had he landed his party in the Philippines. Davidson, op. cit., p. 52.

23. Ibid.

•175 Chekiang, and Kwangtung, the Manchus, aided by the Dutch fleet, succeeded in ousting Cheng Ching from Amoy in 1680. He died in Formosa in 1681. Taking advantage of a family quarrel over the succession, the Manchus captured the Pescadores in July 1683. Cheng Ching's son surrendered in September.

IV. AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE 1683-1895

In 1683, when the whole island came under Manchu rule, it was made part of Fukien Province. The capital was renamed Taiwanfu, and the island, Taiwan.[24] For administrative purposes the island was divided into three hsien (districts), namely, Taiwan, Fengshan and Chulo, each under a civil magistrate. The magistrates were under the authority of the prefect of Taiwanfu, who in turn was subordinate to the Taotai, or Imperial Commissioner, at Amoy and the Governor of Fukien Province. A garrison of 8,000 men, later increased to 14,000, was stationed in Formosa and the Pescadores. In view of the independent character of the populace and the stubborn opposition offered to the Manchu regime, the

24. Under the Dutch, the name of Taiwan applied to the region surrounding the bay. The island was always referred to by most Dutch writers as Formosa.

• 175 Ch'ing emperors refrained from introducing drastic government measures toward the reorganization or the development of the island. Nevertheless, there were a number of rebellions during the two hundred and twelve years of Manchu rule. Some had the objective of the restoration of the Ming Dynasty and others were uprisings against misrule and excessive taxation.

V. POPULAR REBELLIONS

The most notable insurrections against the authorities occurred in 1722 and 1787. The leader of one such insurrection was Chu I-kuei, who was of humble origin and made his living by raising ducks. Claiming to be a descendant of the dethroned Ming dynasty and rallying around him a number of Ming loyalists, he rose in 1722 against the Manchu magistrate at Fengshan who had executed two hundred persons for violating the new law instituted to preserve the camphor trees. The revolt soon spread to other parts of the island. In three months the rebels captured both Taiwanfu and Chulo. The government officers fled to Amoy. When Chu I-kuei was crowned Chung-hsing Wang, or Restoration King, the Manchu court was thoroughly alarmed. A large detachment,

175 dispatched from Amoy and Namoy to Formosa to quench the rebellion, took two years to restore complete order.[25]

Another important disturbance was the insurrection engineered by a secret society called T'ien-ti Hui, established to overthrow the Manchu rule in China. It is said that it was originally organized by Cheng Ch'eng-kung himself.[26] Lin Shuang-wen was the head of T'ien-ti Hui in northern Formosa and Chuang Ta-t'ien was in charge of the same organization in the southern part of the island.

In 1786, the magistrate at Changhua, alarmed at the growing influence of the society, arrested a few of its members and put them to death. Protesting against their prosecution, Lin Shuang-wen raised the standard of rebellion and killed the local governor. In due course, Chulo and Hsiuchu were captured by the rebels. Members of the society in southern Formosa, led by Chuang Ta-t'ien, drove out the government forces from Fengshan. With the exception of Taiwanfu, the whole island fell under the control of the rebels. Four thousand

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25. T'ai-wan Sheng T'ung-chi Kao, op. cit., p. 80.

26. Hsiao I-shan, "Tien-ti Hui Kao" [Study of Tienti Hui] in T'ai-wan Wen-hua Lun-chi [Collection of essays on the Culture of Formosa], Taipei, 1954, pp. 215-24.

• 175 troops from Kwangtung, three thousand from Chekiang, and one thousand Manchu regulars were rushed to relieve the seige on Taiwanfu, but were unable to stop the rebellion. The number of rebels gradually swelled to over one hundred thousand.[27] Emperor Ch'ien Lung (1736-1796), realizing the seriousness of the situation, called for reinforcements from the provinces of Szechwan, Hunan, Kwangtung, and Kweichow and placed these troops under the command of his ablest Manchu general, Fu-k'ang-an. After nine months of battling, the rebels were driven from the settled districts and the leaders were captured and put to death.[28]

Besides the numerous political uprisings, there were also feuds between emigrants from Fukien, the Haklos, and those from Kwangtung, the Hakkas. Among the settlers from Fukien Province there were rivalries between those who came from Ch'üanchou and those who came from Chang-chou districts. As the Chinese colonists spread toward the interior of the island, they also came into conflict with the aborigines, with attendant murders and reprisals. In this connection, mention should

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27. T'ai-wan Sheng T'ung-chi Kao, op. cit., p. 81.

28. In memory of the victory of the Imperial forces, the city Chulo was renamed Chia-i, meaning "commendable loyalty."

.176 be made of the saintly figure of Wu Feng. A native of Chiayi, Wu Feng was a learned and respected man and was versed in the aboriginal languages. He went to live with the tribesmen as official interpreter and tried to persuade them to discard the barbarous practice of headhunting. Failing in his efforts and animated by a spirit of sacrifice, We Feng, at the age of 71, voluntarily made himself a victim. The aborigines were deeply distrubed when they discovered that they had killed their beloved friend, and they henceforth gave up headhunting. In commemoration of his martyrdom, which occurred on August 10, 1769, Wu Feng was deified as the god of Mount Ali. Temples were erected to perpetuate his memory, and he is revered and honored by the people on Formosa today.

IX. PROGRESSIVE POLICY UNDER LIU MING-CH'UAN

• 175 The success of the Chinese defense in warding off the French attack[35] owed much to the leadership of the new governor, Liu Ming-ch'uan. Liu, a good soldier and an able administrator, had been transferred from Fukien Province, arriving at his new post only a few days before the commencement of hostilities. In 1885 Formosa was formally made an independent province and divided into four fu (prefectures), and eleven hsien (districts). The prefectures were: Taiwan, Taipei, Tainan, and Taitung; the districts were: Changhua, Taiwan (Taichung), Miaoli, Yunlin, Tamsui, Yilan, Hsinchu, Anping, Chiayi, Fengshan, and Hengchun.

Taichung was chosen as the future capital of the province and named Taiwanfu, while the former Taiwanfu, capital of the island since the Dutch period, was renamed Tainanfu.

35. "The campaign was unique in that the foreign forces were not always the victors, and that France, one of the greatest military powers in the world, was forced to admit that the actual results of the campaign frequently failed to correspond with the carefully laid plans, that the anticipated victories, in at least two instances, were victories of China -- and that altogether, from a military standpoint, the war was a failure." Davidon, op. cit., p. 220.

•176 Pending the construction of the new capital city, Taipei was made the temporary capital, and so it has remained to the present day.

Governor Liu applied himself to the strengthening of the island defense and the improvement of communications. Keelung was developed into a modern harbor. A railway linking Keelung with Taipei, later extended to Hsinchu, was constructed. Telegraph lines joined Taipei with Tainan and Kaohsiung, uniting the north and south. Cables were laid between Anping and the Pescadores and between Tamsui and Foochow, joining Formosa to the world's telegraphic system. Work on several highways was begun, and streets were paved inside the city wall of Taipei. To introduce jinrickshas, the government ran them at its own expense for some time and then turned them over to the coolies.[36] The government also introduced modern street lighting.

Reconstruction work imposed a heavy financial burden on the newly instituted province. Export duty on sugar, in addition to that on tea and camphor, was levied. New tax on riceland was collected. Camphor was again declared

36. Davidson, op. cit., p. 280.

1176 a government monopoly in 1886. Opposition both from the people and foreign traders became very marked. In June 1891, Liu Ming-ch'uan retired. His successor, trying by extensive economy to win popularity among the islanders, made no effort to carry out Liu's progressive program. Camphor monopoly was again abolished and coal mines which had been operated by the government were closed.

War broke out between China and Japan over Korea in July 1894. China was defeated, and forced to accept the Treaty of Shimonoseki in April 1895. The treaty provided for the cession to Japan of Formosa and the Pescadores, and was bitterly resented by local Chinese. A deputation of prominent residents was sent to Peking, presenting protests to the Emperor. When their protests proved of no avail, the Formosans declared the island an independent Republic. A local army of 50,000 men was raised to resist Japanese occupation. Dispatches were sent to foreign powers for recognition and support.[37] Because no outside aid was forthcoming, the new republic offered little resistance when the Japanese landed at San-tiao-chiao in May 1895 and advanced from Keelung to Taipei. T'ang Chin-sung, the president of the

37. Ibid.

• 175 Formosan republic, escaped to the Mainland. General Liu Yung-fu took up his work in southern Formosa and continued the organized opposition for another five months.

V. HALF CENTURY OF JAPANESE OCCUPATION (1896-1945)

Although the Japanese conquest of the island was completed early in 1896, underground movements to resist subjection to Japanese rule remained strong among the populace. Armed uprisings were frequent. "As fast as one band was broken up, new bands arose in other places, and both soldiers and police were wearied out without having apparently accomplished anything. The fact that occasionally peaceable inhabitants were mistaken for brigands and treated accordingly by punitive expeditions, finally led some of these people to turn brigands. Thus the end seemed as far off as ever."[38] During the first twenty years of Japanese occupation, 1895-1915, there were at least fourteen important revolts, all ruthlessly suppressed. As a result of indiscriminate slaughter following each rebellion, it has been

38. Yosaburo Takekoshi, Japanese Rule in Formosa, trans. by George Braithwaite, London, Longmans & Co., 1907, p. 4.

• 175 estimated that 650,000 Formosan Chinese lost their lives in the half century of Japanese rule.[39]

No less ruthless was the Japanese persecution of the aborigines. Since 1910 the Japanese have launched many campaigns to quash revolts and to drive away tribesmen from regions which the Japanese timber companies desired to exploit. However, despite their ruthless tactics,[40] the Japanese were unable to achieve their objective with complete success. As observed by a foreign missionary, "These courageous and liberty-loving people were the only group in the island who were not conquered by the Japanese arms."[41]

In addition to the revolutionary movement, since 1918 there has been agitation, mainly among students, for representative government and for the modification of harsh laws. Petitions for political reforms were presented to the Japanese Diet, but the liberal movement was soon suppressed by the Japanese police. Leaders were thrown into prison, and new restrictive measures were proclaimed.

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39. Li Chi-fei, Taiwan, Shanghai Commercial Press, 4th printing, 1947, pp. 110-11.

40. J. W. Ballatine, Formosa, A Problem for United States Foreign Policy, Washington, D.C. The Brookings Institution 1952, footnote, p. 32.

41. James Dickson, missionary in Formosa, in his pamphlet, Stranger than Fiction, quoted by Han Lih-wu, Taiwan Today, Taipei, Hwa Kuo Publishing Co., 1952, rev. ed., p. 41.

• 175 Although Japan did succeed in establishing order, the people had never been allowed any political freedom. In 1941, the Institute of Pacific Relations made a study of how the Chinese population lived under forty-five years of Japanese rule. The investigator, Mr. Andrew J. Grajdanzev, reported in 1942 in his book, Formosa Today:

> "In the Western world British policy in India evoked much criticism. Yet conditions in British India cannot even be compared with those in Formosa. The Indian people can organize; they use their own languages in middle schools and even in the universities; they publish their own newspapers and books in their own languages; they have their own political groups and parties, their voice and their criticisms are heard in the political assemblies; certain important industries of India are now in the hands of Indians. However limited all these rights and opportunities to use them may be in India, they are infinitely greater than those of the people of Formosa."[42]

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42. Andrew J. Grajdanzev, Formosa Today, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1942, vi.

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A - ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE JAPANESE

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175 Japan's exploitation of Formosa falls into two periods: (1) from 1895 to 1936; (2) from 1936 to 1945. During the first period, Formosa's economy was geared to the demands of the Japanese homeland. The island was developed to export sugar, rice, salt, and other primary products in exchange for Japanese manufactured goods and fertilizers. Japan took between 90-95 per cent of the exports and supplied 85-90 per cent of the island's imports.[43] To facilitate transportation, a network of excellent railroads and highways was constructed, and the harbors, especially those at Keelung and Kaohsiung, were modernized. Industries were owned and operated either by the government or by large Japanese corporations, with very little participation by the local people. Chinese workers were paid wages 50 per cent lower than those paid Japanese workers on a similar job.[44]

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43. Taiwan, A geographical Appreciation, compiled by the Dept. of Mining and Technical Survey, the Canadian Government, Ottawa, 1952, p. 15.

44. Grajdanzev, op. cit., p. 116.

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185 During the second period Formosa became the base for Japan's southward expansion. In 1936, Admiral Kobahashi was made the seventeenth Governor-General of Formosa. His appointment marked the return of military government.[45] In his first public speech, the Governor-General laid down a new two-point program for Formosa: cultural assimilation and industrial development.[46] An intensive campaign was launched to assimilate Formosan Chinese, who were encouraged to discard their own customs, religion, and language. The Japanese language was used in the schools. Chinese language newspapers were prohibited, and even banking had to be conducted in Japanese. Simultaneously the industrialization of the island was accelerated; mining and industrial enterprises were encouraged, and commercial crops such as cotton and ramie were raised. Machinery and raw materials were imported from Japan and other parts of the Japanese Empire in order to make the island self-sufficient industrially and to meet the demands of Japanese military efforts.

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45. The first seven governors-general in the period 1895-1919 were either admirals or generals. From 1919 to 1936 the governors-general were chosen from civilian officials. From 1936 on they were admirals.

46. Hideo Naitor, Taiwan- A Unique Colonial Record, 1937-38 Ed., Tokyo, Kokusai Nippon Kyokai, 1938, Ch. VI, pp. 53-54.

B. FORMOSA'S ROLE IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR

176 With a view to the maximum utilization of the manpower in Formosa, the Japanese administration took a census of Formosa's population every five years, beginning in 1920. [162] The population totalled 5,872,084 in 1950; the number of males between the ages of 19 and 40 was estimated to be over 928,000.[47] The invasion of China by Japan was resumed in 1937, and war in the Pacific broke out in 1941. Despite their efforts at assimilation, the Japanese in Formosa exercised great caution in mobilizing the vast reservoir of manpower available in Formosa. Until 1942, no Formosan was allowed to own or harbor firearms of any kind. In June 1942, the Japanese imperial government called for voluntary military service. Japanese sources[48] claimed that hundreds of thousands of Formosan Chinese had registered, but because the Japanese would not trust the latter with arms, only a few hundred were accepted for training. It was not until February 1944 that the Japanese granted the first army commission to a Formosan Chinese, who was a sub-lieutenant in the Army medical service.

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47. Chen Cheng-hsiang, "Taiwan Chih Jen-kou" ["The Population of Taiwan"], Taiwan Yin-hang Chi Kan [Bank of Taiwan Quarterly], Vol. 4, No. 1, March 1951, p. 47-49.

48. Tokyo, Domei English broadcast, Jan. 11, 1943.

175 Except for a small contingent of aborigines who took part in jungle warfare in Southeast Asia, the Formosans were used principally in non-combat service. They worked with the labor corps, carrying supplies and serving the army as auxiliaries. On the Chinese Mainland, the Japanese did employ Formosan Chinese extensively in espionage work. Many of the latter took advantage of this opportunity to work as double-agents to extort money and to engage in other scrupulous activities. "This led to bad blood between the islanders and the rigorousness with which the islanders were treated after the Chinese reoccupied the island in 1945."[49]

Formosa was of value to Japan in World War II because of its strategic position. It formed the training ground for the army and a base for trans-shipment to the war theaters in South China and Southeast Asia. Many new airfields were constructed from which surprise attacks on Manila and Hong Kong were launched. The naval base at Makung in the Pescadores was transferred to Kaohsiung, where the harbor had undergone extensive development. In 1943, when the war was growing in intensity, there was a plan to incorporate the Formosan

49. Ballantine, op. cit., pp. 45-46.

175 Chinese and the tribesmen into a volunteer army. In 1944 the island of Formosa became the target of American planes. Although it was bypassed by American land forces, the damage inflicted by aerial bombings was so extensive that only 20 per cent of Formosa's industrial plants are said to have been in operation[50] when the Chinese assumed control after Japan's surrender in September 1945.

VI. CHINESE REOCCUPATION, 1945

On December 1, 1943, after the Cairo Conference, Roosevelt, Churchill, and President Chiang issued a declaration, subsequently accepted by Stalin, that "all the territory of Japan stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria,

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50. Of 42 sugar refineries, "only eight narrowly escaped from bombings by American Air Forces." "At the time of Japanese surrender in August 1945, generating capacity of the western power system was reduced to 32,000 kw out of total installed capacity of 308,000 kw as a result of allied air bombing." Industrial Enterprises of National Resources Commission in Taiwan, Nat'l Resources Comm., Taipei, 1951, Part I, chap. 6, p. 1 and cahp. 7, p. 2.

• 175 Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be returned to the Republic of China." Accordingly, after the surrender of the Japanese in 1945, Formosa and the Pescadores were restored to China.

The first postwar Chinese governor of Formosa was General Chen Yi. The Nationalist Government was at that time engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Communists. The resources of Formosa were diverted to carry on the warfare on the Mainland. As a result, little was done to encourage the rehabilitation work so badly needed in Formosa. The Formosan Chinese, who had rejoiced at reunion with their mother country, were disappointed because they had been denied the opportunity to participate in the control of confiscated Japanese enterprises. Friction arose between the Mainlanders and the islanders, culminating in a riot on February 28, 1947, in which many Mainlanders and native Formosans were killed.[51] Chen Yi was replaced by Dr. Wei Tao-ming, former Chinese Ambassador to the United States. When the Chinese Mainland war overrun by the Communists in 1949, the central government of the Republic of China moved to Formosa. General Chen Cheng,

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51. George Kerr, "Formosa's Return to China," Far Eastern Survey, Oct. 15, 1947, pp. 205-08; "Formosa: the March Massacre," Far Eastern Survey, Nov. 5, pp. 224-26.

• 175 Chiang Kai-shek's chief lieutenant, was appointed governor. The influx of a flood of refugees and retreating troops created many difficulties. Chen's most notable achievement during his brief tenure of office was the introduction of agrarian reforms, which limited the rental on farm land to 37 1/2 per cent, as an initial step toward the implementation of the "land-to-the-tiller" policy. Chen Cheng was elevated to the presidency of the Executive Yuan (prime minister) in December 1949. He was succeeded as governor by Dr. K. C. Wu, former mayor of Shanghai.

Under the Japanese, Formosa was divided into five provinces (Japanese, Chu) which were subdivided into fifty-one counties (Japanese, Gun) and five incorporated cities (Japanese, Shi) and three districts (Japanese, Cho). The districts administered undeveloped regions. Administrative power was invested in an autocratic governor-general directly appointed by the emperor of Japan. There was an advisory council of forty members appointed by the governor-general, who was its chairman. All high officials, civil or military, were Japanese and were appointed and dismissed at the recommendation of the governor-general. The people of Taiwan had no representative organization and no voice in the legislation or administration of the island.

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Following the revolt of February 28, 1947, the new Chinese provincial administration accepted seven Formosan Chinese as commissioners in a total of fifteen. When K. C. Wu became governor, another effort was made to broaden the participation of local Chinese in government. The provincial commission was enlarged to include seventeen Formosans in a total of twenty-three. Greater number of local people were employed in the civil service. By June 1950, of the total of 81,006 persons employed by the provincial government, Formosans accounted for 53,024.[52] On August 16, 1950 the administrative areas were revised from eight hsien and nine municipalities directly under the province to sixteen hsien and five municipalities. Steps were immediately taken to promote self government in the province. The popular election of the magistrates of the sixteen hsien, the mayors of the five municipalities, the members of the hsien and municipal councils, and the members of the Provincial council was held for the first time in July 1950 and completed in March 1951. A new election took place in 1953-54. Since that time the election law has been modified so that future elections will take place on the same day in all sections of Formosa.

52. Fred W. Riggs, Formosa under Chinese Nationalist Rule, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1952, p. 49.

000 same day in all sections of Formosa.

• 175 K. C. Wu resigned as governor in 1953 and was replaced by O. K. Yui. The term of Generalissimo Chiang as first president of the Republic of China under China's new constitution expired in May 1954. A second session of the First National Assembly was convened in Taipei in February 1954. Chiang was re-elected and Premier Chen Cheng was elected vice-president. Governor O. K. Yui succeeded Chen as president of the Executive Yuan. Yen Chia-kan was appointed governor and he is still in office today. Yen has served for many years on the Council for United States Aid (CUSA) of the Executive Yuan. It is expected that there will be closer Sino-American co-operation during his administration.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2a',
Political Background

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT

175 Formosa has been the habitat of primitive people and lawless Chinese and Japanese since the dawn of its recorded history. In the early part of the seventeenth century, the Dutch and the Spaniards founded trading posts in Formosa and establishing the first organized community on the island. After a rule of 38 years, the Dutch were forced from Formosa by a group of Chinese who were loyal to the fallen Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Chinese governmental institutions modelled after those prevailing during the Ming period superseded the Dutch, until the Ming adherents were themselves ousted by the Manchu conquerors.

175 631 For two centuries, beginning in 1683, the island of Formosa was a fu or prefecture of the Chinese province of Fukien. In 1887, by imperial decree, it was made a separate province. The island was ceded to Japan in 1895 following the Sino-Japanese War. During the first twenty-five years of Japanese occupation the island was under military rule: the government was preoccupied with the quelling of revolts, and the governors-general were all military men. From 1919 to 1936 civilian officials were chosen as governors-general.

175 631 After 1936, in line with Japan's southward expansion policy, the appointees were all admirals. The administrative system had undergone several revisions, the last revision occurring in November 1943.

631 Under the Japanese, Formosa was divided into five provinces (Japanese shu) and three districts (Japanese cho). The five provinces were located in the western part of the island, each placed under the supervision of a provincial governor. The eastern part of the island, which is mountainous and sparsely populated, formed two districts and the Penghu Islands (Pescadores) the third. The five provinces were subdivided into nine cities (Janapese shi) and forty-five counties (Japanese gun). The counties were further divided into towns (Japanese gai) and villages (Japanese sho). The administrative area of towns often embraced a considerable rural area. All areas not within a city or a town fell within the political boundary of a village. The two districts of eastern Formosa were subdivided into ten counties, and the counties into towns and villages.[1]

1. Hideo Naito, Taiwan, a Unique Colonial Record, 1937-38 edition, Tokyo, Kokusai Nippon Kyokai, 1938, pp. 64-74.

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

CHAPTER I

The Growth of Population

101 In the last century and again in modern times, Taiwan has repeatedly become the object of rivalries among some of the most powerful nations of the world. Though its history has been a succession of disruptive incidents resulting from such contacts, by its size alone the island scarcely seems to merit the covetous attention that outsiders have given to it. It is not large—only 250 miles from north to [131] south, and about 90 miles across at the widest point. The area that it covers is only 14,000 square miles, or slightly less than that of the Netherlands. There is little in the way of precious minerals that would arouse the desire of industrial countries. It offers no great area into which other peoples can expand. It has only its significant location in the path of transportation routes off the coast of China, and a territory potentially rich in agricultural output. While the former of these has had the greater attraction to foreign nations, it is the latter that actually yielded—perhaps exceeded—the full measure of wealth that was expected.

132 The topography and climate of Taiwan in the past have combined to make the island inhospitable to settlement. Being at the fringe of the tropics, the climate is hot and rainy, with marked changes of season and variations from one section to another. The greater part of its surface is not readily put to human use. Over half of this area consists of rugged mountains, rising steeply from a plain along the western coast and extending to the Pacific Ocean in the east. Heavy rainfall therefore runs off very quickly, creating torrential floods and occasional droughts in between. Large parts of the island are frequently swept by typhoons and shaken by earthquakes.

175 Within the span of recorded history, the difficulties presented by the physical environment never succeeded in discouraging human habitation. There were vague reports of residents there before A.D. 1000. When Taiwan first came officially to the attention of China, during the Ming dynasty, some tribes of primitives were known to be living near the western coast. Since the 16th century people swarmed to Taiwan from the relatively crowded parts of South China, and prospered there as agriculturists. The Japanese, who ruled the island from 1895 to 1945 and exploited its possibilities

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

●175 more thoroughly, developed it into a highly profitable colonial enterprise.

There was some solution to each of its principal deterrents to settlement; but the deliberative and organized approach that many of these solutions required was adopted only by the Japanese. Under them production expanded and population increased at a rate that was prodigious, until the very success of these solutions created its own uncertainty—how and when the increase of people would cease.

Early Settlement in Taiwan

Piecing together the history of Taiwan's population before 1895 is a difficult task. It cannot be pursued very far, since relevant information is lacking. There is no reliable record to show even the number of people on the island before the 20th century. The dimensions of population growth, and its nature, must therefore be surmised from the reports of travelers, tradesmen and Western missionaries.

Prior to 1600 Taiwan was sparsely occupied by a few tribes of "savages," of origins that are unknown. The island at this time had attracted very few people from China, though its mountains were actually visible from the mainland, and its coast less than a full day's sail with the tide. Some Chinese and Japanese used it as a base for commerce and piracy against other shipping along the coast. The early tribes of non-Chinese ranged over most of the inhabited area, sometimes repelling visits by curious foreigners, sometimes warring among themselves. These were forebears of the present aborigines of the interior, the "real" Taiwanese.

At about this time the Dutch entered regular and quasi-legitimate trade in the Far East, and became interested in Taiwan as a base for this purpose. In 1622 they established a few fortified outposts on the island, commenced trading across the straits, and formed a limited government to minister to what they took to be the civil and religious needs of the native population. Their rule left nothing of lasting importance in Taiwan except the early chronicles that they faithfully kept of their experiences, which form the safest repository of information about contemporary events.

From such sources we are informed of a growing influx of migrants from the mainland. These were a special category of Chinese, the so-called Hakka people from Kwangtung Province. They were an ethnic minority in China, and as such they occasionally were targets

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

of organized abuse. Following an outbreak of such disturbance in Kwangtung a considerable number went to Taiwan for refuge, where they were not easily persuaded to respect Dutch rule, and hence were not eagerly received. But even while Taiwan was nominally in the hands of a Western power, these migrants represented a substantial Chinese settlement there.

The Dutch were not able to remain very long in Taiwan. As an aftermath of a change of dynasties in China, the slow stream of Hakka people became engulfed in an organized movement of a defeated faction from South China. Led by the celebrated personage Cheng Ch'eng-kung, the newcomers drove out all Westerners from Taiwan in 1662, only to succumb after some years to control by the new Manchu regime in China. These events were followed by continuous migration of Chinese. Most of this flow started from Fukien Province, the new base for administration of Taiwan.

These new migrants soon outnumbered by far the previous settlers. Thereafter, the Chinese coming into Taiwan gradually spread out over the flat area most suitable to intensive farming. Little by little they displaced aborigines from the lowlands, and pushed them back into the mountains. Steady movement from the mainland raised the population of Taiwan from a few thousand in 1600 to more than two million by 1895.

The occupied area was enlarged during this period from a few scattered points along the western coast to the entire level portion of the island.[1] More important, in the process of this settlement Taiwan was changed into a land that was thoroughly Chinese, imprinted permanently with the characteristics of Chinese culture. The aboriginal people of Taiwan became a small minority, and remained apart in the interior where they could better hold off further incursions on their territory.[2] Hence the "Taiwanese" that one can speak of at any later date consisted almost entirely of these early migrants from China and their descendants.

By the time Taiwan was ceded to Japan, this population had made it culturally an extension of China. From the sphere of politics and economic activities, as we shall see in later chapters, to matters of

[1] See Ch'en Cheng-hsiang, *Atlas* (1950), Fig. 15.

[2] They made good use of the advantages of rough terrain in protecting themselves. In spite of the fact that the tribes quarreled among themselves and failed to present a united front against conquest, it later took the Japanese over thirty years to subdue this interior part of the island, in a campaign with modern weapons, airplanes, and reportedly even poison gas.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

1175 village life and family relationships, the people of Taiwan retained the heritage of tradition and custom that they had brought from the mainland. These cultural institutions did not succeed so well in maintaining order in Taiwan as in China, for there were new situations to be met and resolved. Chief among these, for example, was the constant arrival of new persons for whom the obligations of a particular locality might not be binding. But once established in Taiwan, there is no evidence that these institutions underwent any major change throughout the 200 years while Manchu authorities ruled the island.

Historical accounts of this period are little but repetitions of the same events. They show a sequence of misrule, intrigue by privileged groups or classes, frequent bloody insurrections, and strife with the aborigines. The island gained a continual atmosphere of violence and unrest. By one important circumstance the disorders were prevented from being an invitation to social change—they were not revolutions, but rebellions. They arose from dissatisfaction with particular persons in the social order—landlords, officials, or members of rival clans or villages—rather than dissatisfaction with the social order itself.[3] As a result, the disorders often served in the end to establish tradition more firmly.

Taiwan under the Japanese

648 The most decisive event in the history of Taiwan after being opened to Chinese immigration was its annexation into the Japanese Empire. Japan in the 1890's was newly arrived as a nation to compete in Far Eastern political rivalries, and many of its leaders were eager to find areas for its expansion as a respectable colonial power. They magnified a relatively minor incident in Taiwan, together with other grievances, into a pretext for provoking war with China in 1894.[4] It was a brief war of several quick military victories for the Japanese. When peace was negotiated in 1895, they insisted that Taiwan be ceded to them, and in the same year they took possession of

[3] Rebellions were ultimately settled by reasserting the established order, though often not without the use of force in the form of troops. Many of them, however, were actually organized within its framework from the beginning. Much of the disturbance was apparently created by the type of large clan organization found in South China, and by secret societies that were able to develop rivalries on a large scale between formidable groups.

[4] Japanese forces had as early as 1874 made an exploratory expedition to Taiwan, under a similar pretext, that formed the basis for expansionist designs on the island and provided valuable information about its terrain.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

[2 The Setting

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In any community study there is always the question of where to begin outlining the picture of village life: on what does one focus first? While the question is perhaps just as urgent during the actual fieldwork, in the field it is possible to observe and ask questions on many subjects at the same time and to move from one subject to another in the course of an interview. But in attempting to put the ethnography down on paper, the decision must be made where to begin.

I have chosen to begin this book as I began my fieldwork—with a general picture of village life that will provide a context which can give meaning to particular aspects of village life. This picture will be followed in Chapters 3 and 4 by a description of the village livelihood, although it has perhaps been more common to begin Chinese ethnographies with a discussion of family and kinship (here Chapters 5 and 6). The importance of the economic sphere in Hsin Hsing is explicit in the very purposes of this book as noted in Chapter 1 and the conclusions of Chapter 9; its importance was implicit throughout the fieldwork as it will be throughout this book. We now turn then to the setting of the village so that specific topical chapters which follow will have some contextual meaning.

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Travel to Hsin Hsing village from the capital city, Taipei, is neither easy nor brief. The approximately one hundred and seventeen-mile trip to Chang-hua, the closest major city, must be made mostly by train via the seacoast or by the interior route through Taichung City. This takes about three hours by diesel express or six hours or more by a local train. It is generally possible to find a seat on the diesel express, but on the local trains one must almost always stand a good part of the way.

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Once out of Taipei the countryside is almost all rice paddies and farmland. Even in the mountain area between Taipei and Taichung, terraced rice paddies form a part of the green and lush vegetation typical of Taiwan. The train goes through a series of tunnels in these rugged mountains, and if one happens to be traveling with a Taiwanese companion, he will probably point out that these tunnels, like the railroad lines, were all built during the Japanese occupation.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

THE HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE AND AREA

The village seems to have been founded about 1785. This estimate is based on the five generations of ancestors listed on the ancestral tablets of the family considered by other villagers to be the oldest in Hsin Hsing. The first generation recorded on the master tablet, in each case, is said to be the founder of that particular descent line in the village.

The ancestors of the village, like much of the Taiwanese population, originally came from the Amoy area of Fukien. While the exact origin for the ancestors of most Taiwanese is either the Ch'uan Chou area north of Amoy or the Chang Chou area south of Amoy, almost all the ancestors of the people in the Hsin Hsing village area came from Ch'uan Chou.[8] Some informants believe that their ancestors came from the mainland directly to this village. Others think they might have first lived nearby and then moved into the village. There is almost complete agreement, however, that all the ancestors entered Taiwan through the port city of Lukang, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, which has long played an important role in the life of the area.

Early in the Chinese history of Taiwan—beginning in the middle 1660's—Lukang was an important port city, second only to Tainan to the south. In fact, up to the time of the Japanese occupation of the island, Lukang was a major Taiwanese culture center. It reached its peak of activity from about 1786 to 1851, when it was the chief port of entry for many of the immigrants from the mainland and was of major importance to Taiwan's trade.

In this early period Lukang was a highly urban settlement. The city's prosperity was at its height during the Ch'ing dynasty in the late eighteenth century, when its population reached one hundred thousand. At that time a hundred ships (each ship under forty-seven tons) went in and out of the port every day, and the city's many narrow, cobblestoned streets were flanked by rows of shops selling such commodities as salted and dried fish, cloth, and other products.

In addition to its prominence as a port, Lukang also served as an important labor center and general marketplace for the surrounding area. Men from nearby villages who found that the low yield of the dry, non-irrigated land could not furnish an adequate income found ample opportunity for work in Lukang in the shops or as coolie laborers in the city's port facilities. The livelihood of many of the villagers of the area therefore depended in large part upon their labor in Lukang, and thus the city, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, very early served as a source of urban influence.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Formosa AD1

With the advent of the Japanese in 1895, Lukang very soon lost its importance as a port, for Japan's plans for the colonization of Taiwan did not include maintaining Lukang as a trade and immigration center. The Japanese set about cutting off the movement of people and goods between Taiwan and the mainland, and, to divert the colony's trade from China to Japan, they built the port of Keelung in northern Taiwan (Barclay, 1954b:12, 18–42). The demise of Lukang both as a port and as a major urban center was hastened by the silting up of the harbor, which had begun even before the coming of the Japanese. As a result of Japanese indifference to Lukang as a port, the harbor soon became unusable.

The final blow by which the Japanese doomed Lukang's importance was the routing of the extensive west coast railroad system far from Lukang. The city could then neither be maintained as a major market town nor as a point of trans-shipment for the area's produce. Its decline as an urban center and as an influence on the surrounding area was reflected in an accompanying population decrease from one hundred thousand in the late eighteenth century to fifty-one thousand in 1954 (*Women te Lukang Chen*, 1954). The decrease took place despite the high rate of population growth in the rest of Taiwan.

Today, Lukang stands several miles from the sea, a city much diminished in size and importance. It offers little economic opportunity for its inhabitants, and despite some light industry, few village people are employed there. Nevertheless, although it is now a small, out-of-the-way city, it offers nearby villagers a convenient local marketplace and a center for some entertainment. Most important, it still functions as a religious center. From the earliest times the Chinese immigrants brought their gods with them from the mainland to Taiwan. These gods and goddesses, such as Matsu, became firmly established as important deities in Taiwan; the Matsu temple in Lukang is believed by the people of the area to be the oldest or second oldest Matsu temple on the island. For this reason Lukang is still one of the most important focal points for the religious pilgrimages of those who maintain loyalty to the Goddess Matsu.

The historical picture of this area at the time of the late Ch'ing dynasty comes from data furnished by older or better educated residents of the area and several local Chinese and Japanese gazetteers.[3] These various sources were used, wherever possible, to corroborate one another. The sources note that in the late nineteenth century the area was sparsely populated and that its inhabitants lived in constant fear of bandits. Up to the early part of the twentieth century dry farming produced most of the staples grown, since there was only a very limited system of irrigation. Crops like wheat, soybeans, sorghum, sweet potatoes, peanuts, a plant used to make dye for cloth, and broom grass were

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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the main products. Rice growing played little part in the economy. The almost total lack of irrigation, presumably combined with a high mortality rate, prevented any rapid increase in population. There were not even enough people to exploit the land fully.

The present area of Hsin Hsing was at that time the site of only a few scattered households. The inhabitants were so few and so weak, and the bandits so many and so strong, that Hsin Hsing and eleven nearby villages formed a mutual protection association. When a village was attacked by bandits, it sounded large gongs as an alarm signal; the signal was relayed from village to village, and the able-bodied men rushed to the aid of the community under attack. The associated villages still maintain an informal organization today, though its function is now the production of a joint annual religious procession (which will be discussed in Chapter 8).

The coming of the Japanese to Taiwan had major repercussions not only for Lukang but for the Hsin Hsing village area generally. Once their rule was established on the island, the Japanese moved quickly to bring about law and order by suppressing the bandits. They eliminated the lawless element from the countryside and brought new security to the village people.

The Japanese also took in hand the extreme complexities of a tri-level land tenure system of landlords, tenants, and subtenants. (See details in Chapter 4.) In order to establish clear property rights and increase the efficiency of tax assessment and collection, the Japanese carried out extensive land surveys from about 1898. In 1905 the "Land Investigation Regulations" were promulgated; they resulted in a greatly simplified land tenure structure which included only landlords and tenants. This basic system is still in force today. Even in more recent years, although the Land Reform Program of the Chinese Nationalist government modified the internal content of the land tenure structure, its form has remained roughly the same.

At the same time, the Japanese gradually extended the irrigation system to serve much larger areas (see *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*)[4] as part of their effort to integrate the colonial area of Taiwan into the Japanese economy. The development of a major irrigation system enabled the agricultural population to expand its rice production greatly, and this rice ultimately became its major export to the Japanese homeland (Barclay, 1954b:18–42).[5]

The expansion of the irrigation system, accompanied by a greater emphasis on agriculture in the area, occurred at about the time that the main impact of the closing of the port of Lukang began to affect the villagers, who thus lost the opportunity to supplement their livelihood by working in the port. The increased irrigation meant that wet-rice could be planted profitably. Wet-rice production demands a

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greater labor force, and this absorbed the men who had formerly worked in Lukang.

The expanded area of land under cultivation increased the food supply and generally improved the standard of living. In addition, the Japanese introduced some Western public health ideas and new means for controlling disease. Apparently, these factors are closely related to the extensive population growth which then began to take place in Taiwan. The Japanese also improved the primitive communication systems of the area. A major program of electrification and improvement of rail and bus lines was instituted throughout the heavily populated areas of the island.

The material influence of the Japanese occupation and administration of Taiwan was enormous. Not only did Japan create in Taiwan an important element of its colonial empire but in so doing it indirectly began to produce important economic changes which had implications for the development of the rural areas and the island itself. While agriculture provided the major portion of Taiwan's exports to the home country, new, imported commodities also became readily available to the Taiwanese villager at low prices; many inexpensive canned foods became common in the village household. In spite of these changes, the world depression had apparently little effect in the Hsin Hsing area. In fact, few villagers were even aware that there was a world depression in 1929 and in the 1930's, which may be due to the almost total lack of industry in rural Taiwan or in Taiwan generally at that time.

The advent of the Japanese brought a higher standard of living for the Taiwanese people, but the improvements were offset by the war with China in 1937 and, more notably, by the entrance of the United States into the war in 1941. Japan had to muster all its own resources and those of its colonies, and good times soon turned into hard times for the Taiwanese farmer. At first, village men were lured off the land to work at high pay on Japanese construction projects, and others were conscripted to work in Japanese army labor gangs in both Taiwan and in Southeast Asia. Often families were left with only the women, children, and old men to work the land. The supply of artificial fertilizer which had been so important in developing intensive rice cultivation was almost completely cut off. The little food that could be produced under these difficult conditions was usually confiscated by the Japanese authorities to supplement the food supplies in Japan, and villagers were frequently reduced to a diet consisting mostly of sweet potatoes. The gratitude they had felt for the prewar accomplishments of the Japanese was offset by the severity of Japanese rule during the hard war years.

The defeat of the Japanese and the coming of the Chinese National-

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F 175 648 lats brought a change in regime to Taiwan. This is known as the "Restoration." At the outset the Taiwanese people welcomed the change, feeling that the coming of the Chinese represented a reunion with their own "race." With the advent of peace, there was a general return of men to the land. Only one Hsin Hsing villager had been killed in the war in Southeast Asia. The other villagers from Hsin Hsing who had surrendered or been taken as prisoners while working in Japanese labor groups were returned to Taiwan in ships. The return of these men to the land was followed by a general population increase, and in the Hsin Hsing area this quickly aggravated the problem of land scarcity; tenancy became a greater problem than ever before. Families could neither buy nor rent enough land to support themselves adequately, and, in addition, the war period had brought about a significant alteration in local patterns of division of labor. In the absence of the men the women had assumed new roles and responsibilities and had begun to take an active part in the operation of the land. This change was so well established that from about 1918 on it became possible for the men to work elsewhere for periods of varying length to supplement the family's farm income. This was the beginning of a new and ever-increasing trend of mobility to Taipei, a trend not confined to the Hsin Hsing area, although it may have begun there earlier than in most other parts of Taiwan. Some men hired out as farm laborers or worked as itinerant merchants in the area. But it is significant that local industrial development has been so slight that it has offered no economic alternatives to the villagers.

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Tn 475 423 [648] [241] [434] Tn [161] After 1949, when the movement of the remnants of the Chinese Nationalist forces from the mainland to Taiwan was halted, the regime instituted a new policy of government rule and reform. The Land Reform Acts between 1949 and 1953 were the most important aspect of this policy. The Land Reform, the increased availability of fertilizer, the infusion of great quantities of economic aid from the United States, and the great increase of supplementary income from villagers working in Taipei have all contributed to an apparent rise in the Taiwanese farmer's standard of living. But the basic problem of population pressure and land scarcity continues to worsen, affecting both economic and social aspects of village life.

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LANGUAGE AS AN INDICATION OF HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

In 1958 there were four main languages spoken in Taiwan: Japanese, Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Hakka. The latter three are usually referred to as dialects of Chinese, but since they are not mutually intelligible, they are actually different languages, and will be referred

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to as such. Taiwanese, also called Min-nan *hua*, is a Fukienese language like Amoy. It is spoken by the majority of the people of Taiwan, and, although it is spoken with different accents, the speakers of the different variants can understand each other. The accents vary according to the place of origin of the speaker's ancestors. Regional differences have developed in Taiwan as well, so that the acrent of the coastal area where Hsin Hsing is located differs from the accents of Taichung or the mountains.

Hakka, another Chinese language, is spoken by the Hakka people (*k'o jen*, "guest people") who originated in Kwangtung province on the mainland. Because of the minority position of the Hakka in Taiwan, they have often had to learn Taiwanese, although Min-nan speakers seldom learn Hakka. The Hsin Hsing village area has no Hakka speakers, and there has been little or no reason for the people of the region to learn Hakka. They are, however, well aware of the Hakka people and of the differences between their languages.

Mandarin, the third Chinese language, is now the official language of the government, replacing Japanese. Japanese first became important in Taiwan through the school system developed by the former rulers. In the 1920's the Japanese government began to augment Taiwan's school system, and "by 1943, 70 percent of Taiwanese children of legal school age were attending some sort of school" (Barclay, 1951b:68n). A limited number of Taiwanese children, usually those whose parents had some status, attended a special primary school system set up by the colonial government for the Japanese children on the island. Classes in these schools were conducted in Japanese. Most children, however, attended the public primary schools whose classes were "conducted in the local dialect" although the children "were required to learn to read in Japanese" (Riggs, 1952:138). All secondary schools and colleges conducted classes "exclusively in Japanese" (Riggs, 1952:138).

In the rural area some children from wealthy landed families attended school beyond the primary level. Because of their education, they were given official jobs under the Japanese regime and mainly spoke Japanese. Today, these men, like a great many urbanites educated under the Japanese, still speak fluent Japanese. The same men now are working for the Mandarin-speaking Nationalist regime and so usually speak Mandarin. They have rarely had the opportunity to use their native Taiwanese and are often chided for speaking their own language very badly.

Most of the rural people though, who did attend public school, usually did not go beyond the primary school level. Many villagers, and almost all rural women, attended school irregularly or not at all. Among all these villagers then, many learned no more than a few

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words in Japanese, such as expressions to be used when entering the predominantly Japanese-manned police stations and other official places. Some uneducated men, however, learned a modicum of Japanese when they served in the Japanese army labor corps during the war period.

Under the Japanese the teaching of the Chinese written language as well as the traditional Chinese classical literature in the schools was illegal. However, village men tell about a Chinese school "secretly" conducted in a temple in Lukang even through the late 1930's. There children and teenagers were taught to read and write Chinese and to study the Chinese classics. Only a very limited number of people from Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages attended such schools, and there were few who attended the Chinese school who did not attend the Japanese primary schools as well.

In the Hsin Hsing area, then, except for the few Taiwanese who managed to attend secondary schools or colleges or who were laborers during the war, the number of persons able to read and speak Japanese (or read Chinese) was small. Grajdanzev, mostly on the basis of Japanese sources, noted that "after 1937 five and one half million Chinese (in Taiwan) could not read a newspaper in their own language, though most of them do not know Japanese" (1942:170). The effectiveness of the Japanese educational system for much of the population of the rural area has perhaps been exaggerated. Although the Japanese school system was greatly expanded between 1937 and 1945, it appears that it did not have time to develop any depth in its effect on the peasant.

Under the Nationalist government's theoretically "compulsory" education, almost all students and former students of the present school system can now speak some Mandarin, which is the only language used in the school after the first or second year. Some of the younger middle-aged men have developed a functional knowledge of simple Mandarin as a result of recent work contacts in Taipei or service in the Chinese army.

The language situation in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding rural area is as follows (for 1958): Very young children speak only Taiwanese (Min-nan) up through the first few years of school. Children in higher grades and young people up to the age of about twenty-six speak Mandarin with varying degrees of fluency in addition to their native Taiwanese. Their fluency depends upon the amount of schooling they have had, how long they have been out of school, and the amount of contact they have had with the language at work or in other special situations after leaving school.

Some men and a few women between twenty-four and forty-five speak some Japanese in addition to Taiwanese. The men learned it

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and seeing the show, and only partially because of the cost. When the villagers do attend, they generally go in small groups of young boys, or young girls, or a group of older women.

CLOTHING

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The villagers' clothing, like their food, is marked by simplicity and a show of thrift. It is not at all uncommon to see a villager wearing work clothes which have been patched several times. Even for special occasions such as a marriage or a large *pai-pai* festival most villagers still dress very simply.

The style of clothing usually varies with age. Older villagers generally wear the traditional Chinese clothing of pantaloons and jacket, although in very hot weather men of all ages wear shorts and a T-shirt when working. In colder weather boys and men (other than the older and more traditionally dressed men) wear ordinary khaki wash pants and several shirts, and a sweater or jacket if they happen to own one. For protection against the cold, a villager depends on a number of layers of clothing, usually cotton, rather than a few layers of woolen items. The cotton padded jacket is worn more by older men and women than by young people.

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While older women wear the more traditional clothing, younger women and girls prefer and usually wear the Western-style dresses, skirts, and blouses which have become very popular since the war. Such clothes are usually made to order either by village seamstresses or in Lukang. Young girls and women wear the Chinese tunic dress (*ch'i p'ao*) on the occasion of their marriage, on special outings to Lukang or Taipei, and during important village festivals. Many of the older villagers tell of the old days when "everyone, including the rich, wore coarse cloth, since in those days people were thrifty." But today, these old people complain, "people are no longer satisfied with coarse cloth and want to wear the better cloth."

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Still, few villagers remember ever having made their own cloth. "Cloth has practically always been purchased in Lukang or from itinerant merchants." Before the Japanese period, inexpensive undyed cloth was apparently imported from the mainland, and during the Japanese period, cloth manufactured in Japan was used. Since the end of the war, the Taiwanese textile industry has grown rapidly, mainly in the vicinity of Chang-hua City and Ho-mei, and today all the cloth used by villagers is Taiwanese-made.

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Nowadays there is a great deal of specialization, and it is both uneconomical and difficult for villagers to make their own clothing unless a member of the household, usually one of the daughters, has studied sewing. A family's clothing is usually made to order by locally

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Changing Land Tenure and Its Effect on Community Organization

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The traditional (Ch'ing) land tenure system in Taiwan has undergone a number of modifications over the years. Each was instituted with the advent of a new regime, and marked the inception of major changes in other aspects of rural life. As we have seen, the colonial administration policies of the Japanese were instrumental in producing the first significant involvement of the Taiwanese peasant in the market economy. Nevertheless, it was not until the restoration of Chinese rule, when the population growth began to exert noticeable pressures and the Nationalist Chinese sponsored the Land Reform Program, that major changes took place in the economy which reached directly into most of the areas of Taiwanese rural life.

The system of land tenure in Taiwan has always been a controlling factor in the lives of the agricultural population, and to understand Taiwanese life fully it is necessary to understand the land tenure system and its history. From the late nineteenth century onwards the rural villagers suffered the results of the concentration of landownership into too few hands. This situation culminated finally in the Land Reform Program of 1949–1953, which, for the first time, secured the Taiwanese tenants' rights to the land they tilled through firm rental contracts, reductions in rent, and the Land-to-the-Tiller Program.

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Putting untilled land under cultivation became a great concern of the government at the time of the Manchu conquest of Taiwan in 1683, according to T'ang (1954:23–27). Under the Manchu (Ch'ing) dynasty, any person applying for rights to occupy uncultivated land was considered the owner as long as he kept his acres under proper cultivation. Not surprisingly, this program led to a situation in which people with enough capital, "a relatively small number of great families" (Ginsburg, 1953:32), obtained rights to large amounts of land

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and then hired other people, usually immigrants from the mainland, to cultivate the land for them as their tenants.

As the population increased in the later years of the Ch'ing administration there was increasing pressure on the land, and many tenants began to sublease part of the land to others. These subtenants became the lowest rank in a three-stage hierarchal structure of land tenure (Ginsburg, 1953:26–27, 32–33; Grajdanzev, 1942:72–84; T'ang, 1954: 23–27).

In 1904, nine years after taking control of Taiwan, the Japanese government altered this hierarchal system of land tenure by buying out the original landowner and conferring the rights of ownership on the tenant. When, in 1923, the Japanese applied the Japanese Civil Code to Taiwan, full legal rights were given to the new owner (the former tenant), who was now officially known as "landlord."

This move benefited the original tenant who was given full ownership rights, but it did nothing to improve the lot of the mass of actual cultivators (now tenants instead of subtenants) whose land rent was no lower than before. As a result, "tenancy disputes" became more numerous beginning in 1927. In that year the Japanese authorities encouraged the formation of local associations of landowners and tenants which were charged with the responsibilities of promoting better relations between landlord and tenant, preventing tenancy disputes, and fostering agricultural production (T'ang, 1954:26). Although many such associations were formed, "the question of farm rents was entirely outside of the jurisdiction of these associations. It [the rent question] was not only left unsolved, but there was even a marked tendency for farm rents to keep on increasing" (T'ang, 1954:26).

In 1939, in the midst of the Sino-Japanese war, the Japanese government issued a rent control law which was applicable to Taiwan and Japan alike. This law had little effect in Taiwan because it did nothing to reduce rents; it only stabilized the situation. (See Grajdanzev, 1942:72–84, especially p. 82 for a discussion of the Japanese attempts to deal with Taiwanese land tenure problems.)

Although the farm tenancy system continued, after 1945 the Japanese rent control law of 1939 was no longer enforced when Taiwan reverted to Chinese rule. With the increase in the rural population and the general upset of the island's economy, farm rents began to rise, and demands increasing security and rent deposits were made. Worst of all, in many cases tenants were arbitrarily evicted (T'ang, 1954:25–28).

Tenancy had been a great problem in Taiwan under both the Japanese and the Chinese since landownership was concentrated in the hands of relatively few owners (Klein, 1958:53; see also his Tables 17 and 18). "The high rate of tenancy reflects the great scarcity of cultivable land in Taiwan in relation to the demand for it. Land-

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Hsin Hsing, Village in Change

In the preceding chapters we have seen how the Hsin Hsing villager, a peasant who was tied to the land and the village community and primarily involved in a basically subsistence type of agriculture, is being transformed to one who is becoming more and more involved in the market economy of the country and who has widespread contacts with an urban way of life. We have seen how such developments are affecting village social organization, community and kinship solidarity, and some of the general patterns of village life. We have also seen that although many features of traditional Chinese culture are still evident in the Hsin Hsing village area (especially in the realm of religion, which continues to be a source of community unity), the impact of increased urbanization in Taiwan in recent decades has brought about important and rather rapid socioeconomic and cultural changes. This has been especially marked in the roles of the village and kinship organizations that were previously the peasants' chief sources of identification and security. We now turn to a description of modifications and changes in traditional values and behavior that further indicate the inexorable direction of change in Hsin Hsing.

Social change is not new to Chinese society. It has been going on for a long time in Taiwan, as well as on the mainland of China, as a consequence of the continuing process of urbanization. However, the process in Taiwan has been accelerated as a direct result of Japanese rule followed by the present rule of the Nationalist Chinese government.

Until the early part of this century, rural society in Taiwan had been relatively stable for many years. Population growth was slow, and there was enough land for the people. Members of the economic families had close relationships with the village as a community as well as with their localized kinship groups. As long as communications were poor, banditry a constant danger, and mobility limited, village unity was essential to security and even survival. Cohesive, tightly knit single *tzu* villages were quite powerful and frequently the de facto govern-

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ment of the local area. In such villages, composed of a single large *tsu* organization, the *tsu* could virtually control the lives of its member families, unite the entire village population on the basis of common kinship, and thus furnish security to all its members. But even villages like Hsin Hsing, fragmented into many small kinship groups, found their security in complete identity with the village, which made it possible for them to band together and cooperate for mutual security against the everday dangers and problems.

The coming of the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of a strong central government which led to an increased orderliness of life. The Japanese also introduced an expanded and efficient system of communications and public health and sanitation measures. These measures, coupled with a stable and secure life, made possible a radical increase in population which became even more pronounced in the late 1940's and 1950's under the Nationalist Chinese government. As all of these developments took place, particularly the maintenance of local order, the ties of the village began to loosen with the loss of its protective function and ability to initiate control beyond its own village boundaries.

In Hsin Hsing (and probably other villages like it), some of the numerous kinship groups began to increase in size and develop into *tsu* organizations as described in Chapter 5. With growth, each group became increasingly concerned with its own sociopolitical influence within the village and even in the nearby area, especially as the former imperative necessity for village unity declined. Thus, Hsin Hsing began to develop into a village with several significant competing *tsu* organizations which started, to some degree, to undercut the formerly necessary coalition of the different village kinship groups. So began the weakening of Hsin Hsing village as a unified community.

As the population increase continued in recent decades, and an already developing problem of land scarcity became even more extreme, it gradually became both necessary and possible for increasing numbers of rural villagers to migrate to the growing cities to find work to supplement their insufficient income from the land. This migration has broadened the villagers' urban contacts and relationships beyond the village. At about the same time, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the villagers have become increasingly more dependent upon and involved with the greater market economy. This has become especially true as patterns of land use have changed in response to all of the changing conditions, so that many villagers are increasingly shifting from what was primarily a subsistence form of agriculture to what is now participation in the market economy of the country. Therefore, there has been an acceleration of the impingement on the village by the outside world.

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NOTES

Chapter 1: Introduction

[1] During the last six or seven years of their regime, the Japanese government attempted to strengthen support of the war effort amongst the Taiwanese population. To do this, they expanded the compulsory school system and put in force many new regulations, i.e., only the Japanese language was used in the schools, Shinto religious symbols such as the Shinto God's shelf (*kamidana*) and Japanese patriotic scrolls replaced the traditional Taoist gods' statues and scrolls, Japanese festivals were observed, and many Taiwanese had to take Japanese names. However, immediately after war's end, the Taiwanese reverted to their traditional Taiwanese (Chinese) customs.

Chapter 2: The Setting

[1] The amount and distribution of rainfall in the Hsin Hsing area is: January .79–1.97 inches, April 3.93–5.90 inches, July 7.86–11.80 inches, October .79 inches. The average annual rainfall in the Chang-hua Hsien area is 39.37–59.05 inches.

[2] A great many of the overseas Chinese living in the Southeast Asian countries also came from the Ch'uan Chou and Chang Chou areas near Amoy.

[3] The historical information gathered from older residents of the area was based mainly on their own experiences as children and on stories told to them by their elders.

Some of the numerous gazetteers available are listed in the section of the bibliography on Chinese and Japanese Language Sources. Chen Shao-hsing, Professor of Sociology and Demography at National Taiwan University, first warned me in 1957 that some problems exist in using these and other such materials in attempting to gain detailed information about Taiwan generally, or about local areas particularly. Although Chen notes in his recent book (1964:196–197) that some earlier Ch'ing dynasty chroniclers, e.g., Chen Meng-lin, author of *Chu Lo Hsien Chih* (1716), and Chen Wen-ta, compiler of the *Taiwan Hsien Chih* (1720), were reliable, he also points out that some later ones such as Yu Wen-i (1758), Wang Ying-ts'eng (1764), Hsieh Chin-luan (1807), and Chen Shu-chün (1852) were unreliable. Chen (1964:196–197) points out that these latter authors cited what was mentioned in the Chen Wen-ta (1720) book regardless of the actual change in customs through time. Apparently, then, they employed the practice of compiling at least some of their data from previously written gazetteers rather than going out into the countryside to obtain the necessary information. But even the reliable gazetteers usually still presented a composite

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124 picture of life rather than ethnographic-type studies of any one area.
127 During the Japanese period in Taiwan (1895–1945), Japanese police,
• 175 administrators, and academic researchers also made extensive detailed studies in Taiwan. These works, such as the *Taiwan Szu Fa* (1910–1911), also were usually composite studies. But these more often dealt with specific aspects of Taiwanese (Chinese) life, such as: family, civil law, economics and agricultural processes, religion and magic (frequently viewing the local people as superstitious and backward), and general customs and habits of the Taiwanese. In these studies, the researchers frequently used scattered illustrative material drawn from either the cities and/or the rural areas of Taiwan.

Thus, a number of the Chinese and Japanese studies are generally valuable for providing a picture of early conditions for some general areas and on many specific subjects in Taiwan. They are, of course, also valuable for comparative purposes. Unfortunately, rarely, if ever, do any of them furnish any ethnographic or contextual picture of Taiwanese life for any particular area in Taiwan, and especially not for the area of Hsin Hsing village. This has meant, therefore, that the available material has been of only limited value in the historical reconstruction of life in the immediate area of Hsin Hsing. It is also unfortunate that either during or after World War II, the historical records for Hsin Hsing and its immediate area which, during Japanese times, were usually kept in the district police station were apparently destroyed or lost.

[4] *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*, no author, Ta Chen 15 or 1925, handwritten in Japanese with additions made in Chinese after the war. Found in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. This source notes that in the Pu Yen area only about 600 *chia* of land were irrigated in the early 1900's. But by 1922 there were 2,100 *chia* of land irrigated, and in 1923 another irrigation system, the Er Pao Chen, was added.

[5] Barclay discussed how Taiwan was built up economically as a colonial area of Japan.

[6] Demographic figures for the whole island of Taiwan are based on local statistics from district public offices such as the Pu Yen Hsiang office.

The 1958 village population figures, the most recent ones cited in this section, differ from those 1959 figures used in the material in Chapter 5 on social organization. Figures from the earlier date are used in this section because they are the ones most comparable with the census figures available for the *hsiang* and all of Taiwan. On the other hand, the 1959 figures were the only ones specific and complete enough to be useful for the breakdown in social organization and family.

[7] These population growth rate figures are for Taiwanese only; aboriginals are not included.

[8] This population growth rate figure is only for Taiwanese and mainlanders in Taiwan; aboriginals are not included.

[9] Based on a discussion in May, 1959, with Professor Chen Shao-hsing, sociologist and demographer at the National Taiwan University. Some of the social factors affecting the birthrate and the trends in population growth will be examined in the chapters on social organization and especially on life cycle.